

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER PART OF COINTELPRO PLAN?

SEE EDITORIAL, PAGE 2; STATEMENT, PAGE 3

THE BLACK PANTHER

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BLACK EX-AGENT DETAILS STATE CONSPIRACY TO KILL GEORGE JACKSON



The murder of Black Panther Party Field Marshal GEORGE JACKSON on August 21, 1971, was the direct result of a well-coordinated statewide police conspiracy, former police agent Louis Tackwood revealed at the San Quentin 6 trial last week. After his murder, George Jackson's cell (right) was a scene of bloody disorder.

(San Rafael, Calif.) - Black former agent provocateur Louis Tackwood stunned the San Quentin 6 trial in recent days with electrifying testimony that for over two years he personally participated in a state law enforcement conspiracy to assassinate leading members of the Black Panther Party, including founder and leader Huey P. Newton and Black Panther Party Field Marshal George Jackson.

It was a brilliant coup for BPP chief counsel Charles R. Garry, who led off last Thursday's session by asking Tackwood several questions establishing his background as an agent for the Criminal Conspiracy Section (CCS) of the Los Angeles Police Department, only to set up a dialogue which went:

GARRY: "Now, sir, can you tell the court and jury what was your last completed assignment here in the northern part of California?"

TACKWOOD: "To assassinate George Jackson."

GARRY: "To do what?"

TACKWOOD: "To assassinate George Jackson."

GARRY: "You may cross-examine."

The effect was devastating. Judge Broderick could only mutter, "Wait a minute," while District Attorney Jerry Herman furiously demanded to quash the statement. On the other side of the plexiglass divider, the spectators' section bristled with excitement. At long last, after 13 months of hysterical prosecution lies and innuendoes, there it was for all to see: the

CONTINUED ON PAGE 10

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Editorial

NO "SPLIT" WITH POLICE AGENTS

Flash! A "revelation" from Kathleen Cleaver, interviewed by a KPFA Radio reporter in Washington, D.C.: That the FBI's COINTELPRO operation created and fostered the 1971 "split" between Huey P. Newton and Eldridge Cleaver through false communiques sent to Algeria before Cleaver decided that American "democracy"—KKK racism, spiraling unemployment, and heightened imperialism—was "the best there is."

From this side of the fence, the people's side, this latest "revelation" is about as bogus and lame as the ones it purports to expose.

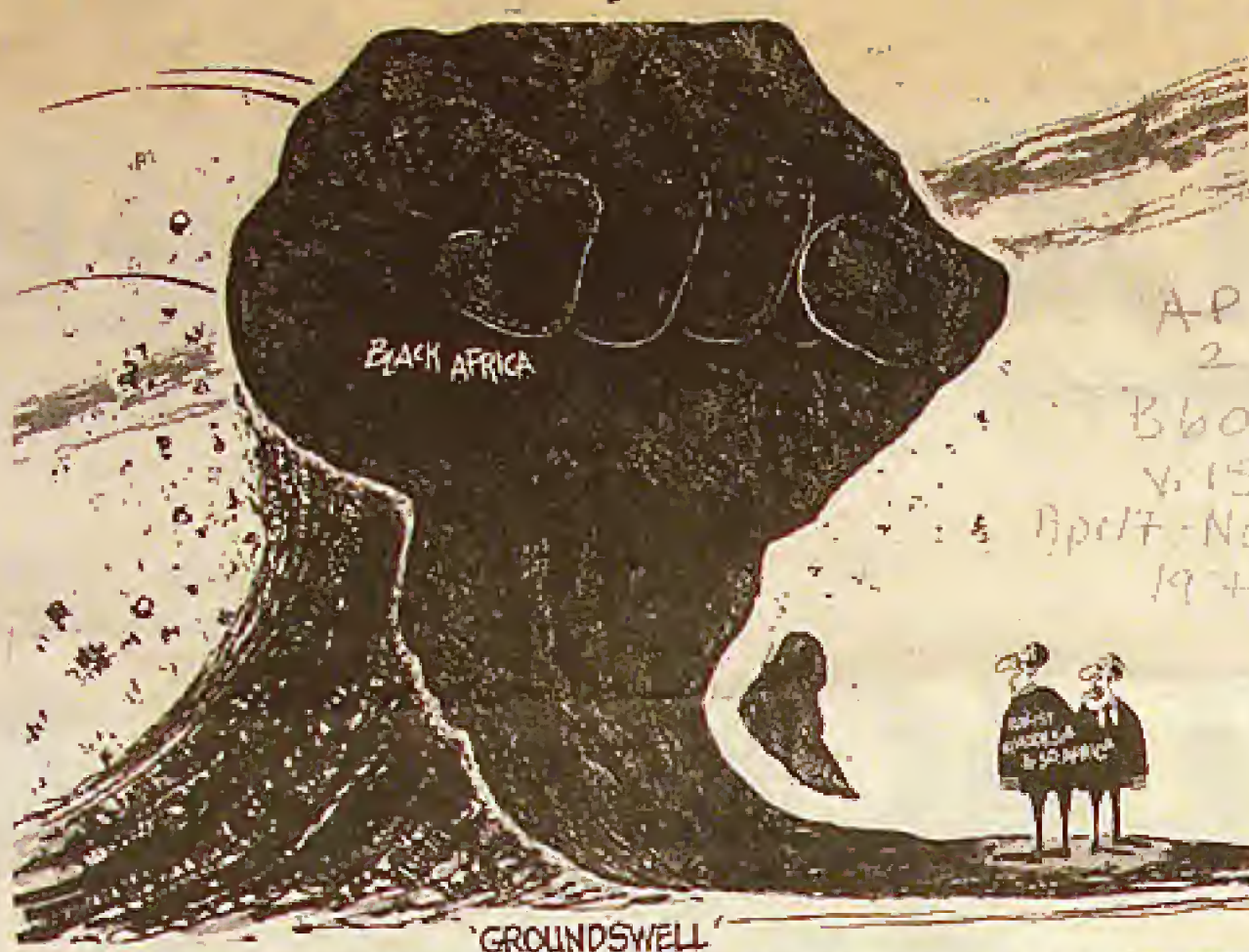
Perhaps it is true that the FBI's COINTELPRO did indeed send these phony communiques to Cleaver. It certainly wouldn't be surprising. But the fact of the matter is that Eldridge Cleaver himself was—and perhaps still is—an active agent of the COINTELPRO objective to divide and destroy Black organizations.

The bloodied bodies of our beloved fallen comrades—Bobby Hutton and Sam Napier bear eternal witness to the murderous treachery of the Judas agent Cleaver. They will NEVER be forgotten.

Tape recorded threats by Cleaver to kill Black Panther Party leader and chief theoretician Huey P. Newton and Black Panther Party chairperson and leading member Elaine Brown substantiate this madman's intent.

There are no "splits" between revolutionaries and reactionaries since the essential link of unity of struggle is absent from the very beginning. The origins and perpetuation of a "split" is an absurdity fostered by the government and propagandized by the media much in the same way that the recently defeated attempts to subvert the MPLA's People's Republic of Angola was falsely labeled as a "civil war." No "split," no "civil war"—just righteous people's struggle for freedom and liberation on the one hand, and deceitful lackies for U.S. dollarism on the other.

Now that he has joined the ranks of other infamous Black turncoats—the Ron Karengas, Roy Innises, Holden Robertos—the ploy is devised that it's all a COINTELPRO plot. But Cleaver has passed the point of no return: history (April 6, 1968/ April 17, 1971) cannot absolve his damnation and it's foolish to think COINTELPRO could absolve him either. □



Letters to the Editor

N.C. WOMEN INMATE: "MY THIRD DAY IN THE HOLE"

Dear Editor:

Today, March 25, 1976, marks my third day in the hole. I am one of five sistas being held captive in the hole by our keepers here at the Koncentration Kamp of North Carolina Korrectional Kenter for Women, Raleigh, North Carolina. We all have been locked up on trumped-up charges of our oppressors. I was locked up because I was in need of medical attention and was refused by Lois MacDonald (head nurse at our infirmary).

Our lives are in total danger, have been every since our peaceful protest on June 15-19, 1975. I along with many others have been denied the right to see an outside doctor of our choice by the head doctor at the infirmary (Dr. Slaughter). Mrs. MacDonald runs her "hospital" as an experimental lab. Even without medical attention we continue to struggle. Slave labor is of abundance here. We are helpless against our oppressors' force without the support of our people.

Now that we are here in the hole more trumped-up charges are being forwarded to us to keep us here. Since Pauline Caldwell has been here in the hole, she has sustained multiple bruises; very little has been done to help her as far as medical attention. Her face and wrists are swollen from the beating she received—handcuffed—Tuesday night, March 26, by six racist guards enroute from Dorm-C to the "hole." She has been separated from us and placed on the other side of this building alone, so that she can be their victim of sheer torture to let out the animal in them. Janice Hammonds, Sheryl Bunch and Tomasina Carter have been subjected to the petty harassments, threats and trumped-up charges made away from the general population. Something drastic is forming.

I have 15 days in this hole on one charge and another, 15 days suspended on another charge and another charge is in the making for disciplinary action. I will know the results of my charge next Thursday. I am still in pain and nothing is being done about it. I've been on lock-up since March 10. I hadn't been in the population eight weeks before they brought me back after being released on January 14 from INS (Indefinite-Non-Punitive Segregation) by the Central Classification Board (CCB). Now it doesn't look like we will ever get off of lock-up, any of us.

Our only release is from our people/you. For too long have we been used and abused by this so-called Amerikkka, land of bondage. Prisons are true reflections of society—Amerikkka! How long our/my people shall we be tortured this way before you render any help?? Our/your struggle is one in one. We're oppressed by the same monsters of oppression. We have got to take a bath/shower, get a drink of cold water, any privileges, or access to any legal/library materials, etc. . . (checks are frequently made to see if we're still alive or not). Tension grows fluently on the grounds being increased by our oppressors. Sister Caldwell sleeps naked with one blanket on a steel bed, no mattress, no linen, or toiletries, etc., for personal hygiene.

All places of confinement need to be condemned, especially NKKKW. It is very unsanitary, unsafe and dehumanizing.

Have we been forgotten so easily and quickly? Where are our supporters/our comrades/our people? What are you going to do to stop these behavior modification tactics?

We salute the victory of the Angolan people. We salute the victory of the MPLA. There's our victory. Only through you, our people, shall we be victorious/free. A Luta Continua for the captives of oppression!! Servant of the People salutes with a clenched fist!! Down with oppression! Up with liberation.

Comrade Aminah Alizah F/N, S/N Bessie Bauler and Sistas
1034 Bragg St.,
Raleigh, N.C. 27610

MORE LETTERS ON PAGE 25

Don't Miss An Exclusive Interview With
Black Ex-Agent Louis Tackwood In
Next Week's Issue

COMMENT

Nixon's Trip To China

By David G. DuBois

Following, David G. Du Bois, Editor-in-Chief of THE BLACK PANTHER Intercommunal News Service, taps upon his vast array of journalist's skills and a thorough knowledge of worldwide affairs to create an impressive, firsthand commentary on former President Nixon's visit to the People's Republic of China this past February.

PART 1

(Peking, China) — The first suggestion of spring is in the air here. Although still cold, the sun penetrates a winter haze lying over the city and warms the skin. Peking citizens, many still wearing padded jackets and trousers and thick scarfs, stroll along the broad Changan Boulevard under ordered rows of still leafless trees, and the city is about its orderly business.

The spacious Tien An-men (Gate of Heavenly Peace) Square at the city's center is alive with visitors from throughout China: large "tourist" groups, uniformed ranks of military personnel, family groups, students and many others. They come here to pay homage at the white stone Monument to the People's Heroes to the south of the Square; to have their picture taken before the magnificent Gate of Heavenly Peace (made famous as the official seal of People's China), marking the entrance to the former Forbidden City, to the Square's north; to view the Great Hall of the People to the west of the Square; or to visit the exhibition at the Historical Museum to the east of the Square.

Steady streams of mostly blue-clad citizens flow into and out of the once Forbidden City, former residence of the Ming and Ching Dynasty emperors, now a vast park and museum of ancient treasures of China's past. Parents watch as warmly and colorfully bundled youngsters romp over the stone lions of classic design. CONTINUED ON PAGE 18

THE BLACK PANTHER

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Fred Hampton Murder Trial Stalled By Withheld F.B.I. COINTELPRO Documents'

(Chicago, Ill.) — "... The first mistake was the judge's failure to enforce Panther subpoenas for files relating to the FBI's counter-intelligence program (COINTELPRO) until the jury literally was in the box. The second was giving the FBI and the Justice Department virtually a free hand to expunge 'irrelevant' information from the files.

"In effect, the second decision put defendants in the position of deciding what was relevant to the case against them."

Under the provocative headline, "Is Panther Mistrial Inevitable," the above written by *Chicago Daily News* reporter Rob Warden, provides a fairly accurate and objective account of the \$47.7 million Fred Hampton murder case as the politically charged trial moves on into its third month.

Recent weeks in the stormy proceedings have been marked

CONTINUED ON PAGE 26

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER DENOUNCED AS F.B.I. AGENT, CHARGED WITH MURDER

The following statement was issued by the Black Panther Party, on Wednesday, April 14, 1976.

(Oakland, Calif.) — "Today, the Black Panther Party formally condemns and denounces Eldridge Cleaver as an active and willing agent in the FBI's COINTELPRO plan to destroy Black organizations by creating internal dissension.

"Further, the Black Panther Party formally condemns and denounces Eldridge Cleaver for the murders of Bobby Hutton, the first member and Treasurer of the BPP, Samuel Napier, the Circulation and Distribution Manager of THE BLACK PANTHER newspaper, and other dedicated Party members who sacrificed their young lives in the cause of freedom and liberation.

"It is for these acts of blatant and vicious murder, not for the alleged assaults against the police — who are, in fact, his co-conspirators — that the



"Lil" BOBBY HUTTON, first Black Panther Party member.

coward Eldridge Cleaver must stand trial by a jury of his peers.

"On the night of April 6, 1968,

while emerging from the burning ruins of what had been a family residence at 1218 28th Street in Oakland, the frightened and naked wreckage of what was once a man, Eldridge Cleaver, shoved 17-year-old Bobby Hutton in front of him, intentionally pushing the half-blinded, brave Black youth into the sights of dozens of police shotguns and rifles ready to kill without hesitation anything that moved.

"On April 17, 1971, on Cleaver's orders, agents entered the Black Panther Party's Distribution Center in New York City with guns drawn to murder Sam Napier. Doing as they were told to do, the agents of Cleaver tied Sam's hands and feet, put cotton in his ears and over his eyes, proceeded to shoot him six times in the head with a .357 magnum and to burn his body.

DEATHS

"There are other BPP members whose deaths Eldridge Cleaver is responsible for. There are tape recorded Cleaver threats to assassinate Black Panther Party founder and leader Huey P. Newton and Black Panther Party chairperson Elaine Brown. There are the betrayals and the lies.

"When the Black Panther Party files suit against the FBI, the name of Eldridge Cleaver will be included." □

Fallen Comrade

SAMUEL NAPIER

Assassinated
April 17, 1971



"Circulate to Educate; Educate to Liberate," was a favorite slogan that Sam Napier used to repeat over and over again. But that was Sam. As Circulation and Distribution Manager of THE BLACK PANTHER, Sam made his rounds across this country, spreading the "People's Paper," as he called it, and his own unforgettable enthusiasm anywhere and everywhere — a fast-paced, nonstop, no-holds-barred fervor for life and liberation, for his people, that ensured that the voice of the Black Panther Party would, indeed, be heard throughout the land.

On April 17, 1971, Sam Napier was assassinated in the New York City distribution office by reactionary agents acting at the beck and call of Eldridge Cleaver. Ignorant and afraid, the agents sought the impossible — to stop the circulation of THE BLACK PANTHER, to kill the shining spirit of Sam Napier. But the passion for freedom can never die: "Circulate to Educate; Educate to Liberate." You can hear Sam say it even now. Long Live the Spirit of Samuel Lee Napier! Long Live the People's Struggle!!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE



FRED HAMPTON

STUDY SHOWS CALIF. PRISONS UNSAFE — FOR GUARDS AND INMATES

Following, *THE BLACK PANTHER* presents the conclusion of Dr. Philip Zimbardo's stinging critique of the California prison system reprinted from the actual court transcripts of the San Quentin 6 trial.

Called as an expert witness in defense of Black Panther Party member Johnny Larry Spain, Dr. Zimbardo, a Stanford University social psychologist of international stature, testified that the inhumane conditions within San Quentin's notorious Adjustment Center could lead to a state of impaired consciousness.

Impaired consciousness, Zimbardo testified, is "the temporary loss of conscious control over behavior as a result of extreme situation stresses — that is the result of confinement — so extreme, so abnormal" it produces "a psychological state of dehumanization."

Examples of this, he said are certain "panic" situations, such as a fire in a crowded theater or as "shellshocked" troops react in certain wartime situations. It is accompanied, he added, by a selective loss of memory.

As the creator of the famous Stanford Prison Experiment, Zimbardo related to the court that within 6 days, in a specially constructed "prison" in the basement of one of the university's dormitories, hostilities irrational violent tensions between student volunteers divided in two groups of mock "prisoners" and "guards" rose so drastically that the experiment had to be halted.

Zimbardo's testimony was devastating to the prosecution in the San Quentin 6 trial, who had tried to bar any mention of the un-Constitutional "cruel and unusual" conditions within the Adjustment Center.

CONCLUSION

GARRY: "I believe you spoke of the Adult Authority and the indefiniteness of confinement. How does that become a stressful situation?"

ZIMBARDO: "The stress of an indefinite confinement, meaning you have no fixed period of time that you can count on before you are released, creates tremendous anxiety in the sense of helplessness. I asked each of the defendants when they expected to get out of the Adjustment Center, when they expected to get out of San Quentin. I asked



Children are searched before entrance to San Quentin 6 trial. During trial, psychologist Philip Zimbardo has fully exposed the inhumanity of Adjustment Center confinement.

them, 'What do you have to do to get out?'

"They said, 'I have no idea when I will get released from San Quentin Adjustment Center or the prison.'

"The indeterminate sentence provides a very large range of time. . . . The experience these men have labored under is: they have no idea when they might be released. And the equally important thing is, they have no idea — at least that they expressed to me — as to what specific things they have to do in order to convince the authorities that they should be released.

"Many of them put it in dramatic terms, to say, 'The staff here at San Quentin thinks of me as a wild animal and I will be released when they feel that I am a tame animal.' But that is in the metaphoric sense. . . ."

GARRY: "Dr. Zimbardo, assuming that the conditions in the Adjustment Center on August 21, 1971, were substantially similar to the conditions of confinement in the Adjustment Center with which you are personally familiar, do you have an opinion, to a reasonable certainty, as to whether those conditions would pro-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 26



Ericka Huggins Narrates Church Fashion Show

(Oakland, Calif.) — "An Afternoon of Fashions" was the theme for a delightful program held on Saturday, April 10, at the First United Methodist Church here. Sponsored by the Junior High Youth Fellowship of the church, the program featured Ms. ERICKA HUGGINS (top left), director of the model elementary level Oakland Community School, who served as commentator for the program in which Youth Fellowship members gracefully modeled clothes provided by the Little Daisy Shop. Rev. EDWARD A. BELL (bottom left), co-pastor of the progressive downtown Oakland church, was on hand to give the young church members his support.

BPINS photos

THIS WEEK IN BLACK HISTORY

April 14, 1775

On April 14, 1775, the first abolitionist society in the United States was organized in Philadelphia. The abolitionist movement was to grow into a major political force advocating the ending of slavery.

April 12, 1787

Richard Allen and Absalom Jones founded Philadelphia's Free African Society on April 12, 1787 — described as "the first wavering step of a people toward a more organized social life."

April 16, 1869

Ebenezer Don Carlos Bassett became the first U.S. minister to Haiti on April 16, 1869. Bassett is believed to be the first Black American to ever receive an appointment to diplomatic service.

April 11, 1883

On April 11, 1883, Spellman College, part of the prestigious Atlanta University complex, was founded. The famous Black women's college began in the basement of Atlanta's Friendship Baptist Church.

April 15, 1889

On April 15, 1889, Asa Philip Randolph was born in Crescent City, Florida. Randolph became a renowned Black labor union leader and founder of the Union of Sleeping Car Porters.

April 15, 1898

The legendary "Mother of the Blues," Bessie Smith, was born on April 15, 1898. Before her tragic death in 1937 she was to make history with her soulful blues singing which paved the way for the great Billie Holiday.

April 15-17, 1960

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was founded on April 15-17, 1960, at North Carolina's Shaw University. During the civil rights struggle of the 1960s, SNCC became one of the movement's most active organizers.



Slain JOE HEBERT with his widow SHIRLEY.

Seattle Black Family Loses "Wrongful Death" Suit

(Seattle, Wash.) — A 1.5 million dollar "wrongful death" suit filed against the city of Seattle and a notorious White killer cop by the family of a slain Black man was denied here last week by an all-White jury on the grounds that the cop had acted correctly "in the line of duty."

The suit was filed by the family of Joe Hebert, which includes his widow, Shirley, his mother, Mrs. Leoda Bledsoe, and his father, Joe Hebert, Sr., on behalf of Joe's son Yusef. The suit was one of the largest ever filed against the Seattle Police Department.

After the testimony was completed, the jury ruled in favor of police officer Allen J. Earlywine, claiming that his murder of Brother Hebert was a "reasonable" action in view of the circumstances. The Hebert family intends to appeal the decision to the U.S. District Court.

Earlywine alleged that he murdered Brother Hebert on the night of February 15, 1975, because he (Earlywine) was in fear of his life. After chasing Joe — a suspected burglar — for six blocks through the predominantly Black Central Seattle area, Earlywine, shot Joe in the back of the head from a distance the police officer maintained was 20 to 30 feet.

Earlywine's chief contention is that Brother Hebert had turned around to face Earlywine with an "object" in his (Joe's) hand which appeared to Earlywine to be a gun. The "object" turned out to be a six-inch knife which has been linked to Earlywine.

In March, 1975, an inquest jury ruled 4 to 2 that Joe's murder was unjustified, but King County (Seattle) Prosecutor Chris Bayley refused to prosecute Earlywine. Bayley's refusal was arrogantly made in the face of petitions with

DALLAS ELECTION OUTLAWS CITIZENS' REVIEW OF POLICE BRUTALITY

B.P.P. Harassed In Campaign Against Proposition 6

(Dallas, Tex.) — In an election highlighted with harassment of the local Chapter of the Black Panther Party and widespread voting irregularities, the Dallas White power structure, led by the City Council, on April 3 obtained the passage of an amendment to the City Charter outlawing the right of citizens to review police brutality and misconduct.

Significantly, however, a city-wide campaign spearheaded by the Dallas Chapter of the Black Panther Party in opposition to "Proposition 6" — whose passage eliminated the portion of the Dallas City charter requiring the Dallas Civil Service Board (DCSB) to investigate all written charges of misconduct against a city employee if the complaint is signed by three persons — polled 44 per cent of the total votes cast, or 26,550 votes. The number of "yes" votes cast was 34,000.

As the result of a suit filed in 1974 against the city of Dallas by the Dallas BPP Chapter, the Dallas Civil Appeals Court ruled



Dallas law officers (above) and government officials led the campaign to eliminate citizens' review of police brutality.

last December that the city had been violating Chapter 16, Section 15, of the Dallas City Charter (the portion allowing citizens to review conduct of

public employees). On March 17 the Texas Supreme Court upheld the ruling of the Dallas Appeals Court.

However, on that same day the predominantly White, racist Dallas Police Association (DPA) succeeded in blocking a hearing on charges of police misconduct in the August, 1974, murder of two Dallas Black youth, 13 and 14-year-old George and Johnny Johnson. The DPA strongly backed the repeal of Chapter 16, Section 15, fearing the righteous indignation of the community against the racist brutality of the police department. (See THE BLACK PANTHER, February 28 and April 3, 1976.)

PROGRESSIVE GROUP

The Dallas BPP Chapter, with the aid of the Bois d'Arc Patriots, a progressive White community group, staged an effective campaign in opposition to Proposition 6 — a campaign in which a broad cross-section of Black, poor and oppressed people of Dallas united to fight a measure designed to deny them their due right to monitor the behavior of public officials, particularly the police.

Many voters reported that on April 3, election day, several election judges told them that they (voters) were not supposed to vote on anything but the mayoral race. Other voters complained that at one polling place there was no handle on Proposition 6 and that the manner in which it appeared on the ballot was confusing to many voters unless they had received the Party's literature on the issue. □



Elaine Brown, Ericka Huggins At Black Women's Symposium For Action

(Berkeley, Calif.) — Black Panther Party chairperson Ms. ELAINE BROWN (center, top photo) made a penetrating presentation at a workshop on "Local Government/Politics" at the "Black Women's Symposium for Action," held on Saturday, April 10, at the Y-House on the University of California (UCB) campus here. Elaine — flanked by (right) Ms. JUANITA NICKELBERRY, coordinator of the Federal Women's Program, and (left) Ms. DORIS M. WARD, a member of the San Francisco Community College District Board of Trustees — emphasized the need for Black women and Black men to work together to obtain the liberation of the total community.

Earlier in the day, Ms. ERICKA HUGGINS (far left, bottom photo), director of the model elementary level Oakland Community School, gave an insightful view of community-controlled education at the workshop on "Education Alternatives." Ericka was joined by Dr. SHEILA WALKER (second from left), a staff member of the UCB School of Education, Sister Minister LORIA MX WALKER (second from right) of Muhammad's Mosque No. 77, Nation of Islam and (far right) Ms. RUTH ACTY, an instructor at the Berkeley Adult School.

BPINS photos

COURT SETS "CUSTOMER" PENALTIES AS PROSTITUTES GAIN NEW LEGAL RIGHTS

(Oakland, Calif.) - From California to New York legal precedents are being set giving new rights to prostitutes — "ladies of the night" — and creating harsher penalties for their male "customers," who have traditionally escaped prosecution.

Male customers must now be arrested as often as women prostitutes by police officers enforcing California's anti-prostitution statute — or the cases against women prostitutes will be thrown out on grounds of sexual discrimination, *Pacific News Service* reports.

That's the impact of a ruling handed down last week by a three-judge panel in the state's First Appellate District. Women in 250 cases in Alameda County, neighboring San Francisco, had their solicitation and prostitution arrests thrown out because the court found that sexual discrimination in the enforcement of the law violated their Constitutional right to equal protection.

DISMISSAL

The decision is the first to require dismissal of a serious criminal indictment because a law was unequally enforced against a whole class of persons.

Alameda County Public Defender Michael Millman used Oakland statistics for 1973-74 to show how systematic bias worked against the arrested women: 1448 females arrested, only 59 male customers picked up.

Most of the solicitation arrests were made by decoys — police officers imitating prostitutes as customers. The court found that women were arrested 20 times more often than men because the department used male decoys 20 times more often than men because the department used male decoys 20 times more often than female decoys. When no decoys were used, the numbers were even more unbalanced: 325 women, two men.

That's the way anti-prostitution statutes have traditionally been enforced by police departments in California and the rest of the country: round up the women and let the male "tricks" go free.

But California law as it is written applies equally to men and women, buyers and sellers. The penal code defines prostitution as "any lewd act between persons for money" and specifies that "every person" who engages in the act is subject to prosecution.



Scene from the "Blaxploitation" movie Willie Dynamite, a film which glorified the life of a Black pimp.

In the Alameda County case the Oakland Police Department chose to prosecute only the female participants in sexual transactions on the alleged grounds that they as sellers were the "profiteers" in the deal.

After a lower court ruled against this "selective discriminatory enforcement pattern," Oakland police had to change their tactics, even though the cases were on appeal. Last year 461 males were arrested, as compared with 651 women. Tom Condit, senior-trial district attorney for Alameda County, expects this two to three ratio to even out eventually.

MEADE

Progressive state assemblyman Ken Meade of Oakland recently introduced legislation to legalize prostitution throughout California. Although soliciting would still be considered a misdemeanor, under Meade's proposed bill houses of prostitution would be legal and local governments would be specifically forbidden from passing ordinances prohibiting houses of prostitution.

In New York, the city's long-time policy of conducting "sweep arrests" of suspected prostitutes was challenged in federal court on March 9, in a class action suit filed by the Legal Action Center and the New York Civil Liberties Union (NYCLU).

"The sole purpose of sweep arrests," the complaint alleges, "is to intimidate, harass and punish women who frequent thoroughfares of Manhattan and are suspected of being prostitutes." The suit further charges that the policy is un-Constitutional and discriminates against Black and Latin women.

According to *Liberation News Service*, under the sweep arrest policy, Manhattan police make round-up arrests of "suspicious looking" women solely on the basis of their "known" status as prostitutes — not because of any criminal conduct. Those arrested are charged with disorderly conduct and held for hours — sometimes overnight.

Police and public officials have admitted that sweep arrests are probably legally indefensible. □

"Runaway Welfare Fathers" Sought

(Washington, D.C.) — The secretary of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) has ordered the release of social security numbers to help track down "runaway welfare fathers," *The New York Times* reports.

The numbers will be released to help states track down fathers and collect child-support payments. Motor vehicle registrations, Internal Revenue Service (IRS), Pentagon and Veteran's Administration records will be used to obtain the information needed to discover their whereabouts.

The ruling ends a heated debate between HEW's Social Rehabilitation Service and the Social Security Administration (SSA) over the confidentiality of social security numbers. The SSA had contended that the new "federal Parent Locator Service" violated federal privacy laws and that it was obligated to furnish only the last known address of the missing parent and his employer.

Consumer Concerns

COSMETIC AD MISLEADING

(Sacramento, Calif.) — California Department of Consumer Affairs Director Taketsugu Takei warned consumers last week not to send money for a cosmetic sample collection widely advertised in California magazines and national newspapers by a New Jersey mail order firm. The ads for the "Soft n' Fresh Skin Care Collection" claim that for one or two dollars the firm will send the customers trial size bottles of name brand cosmetics. The Consumer Affairs Department's Ad Substantiation program has found, however, that instead of receiving the full size bottle depicted in the ads, the consumer receives five small plastic tubes, each containing about one-thirtieth of an ounce, an amount clearly insufficient to test the product for quality or for possible reaction, Takei said.

NEW LICENSING DIVISION

(Sacramento, Calif.) — A bill creating a new Division of Licensing Services within the state Department of Consumer Affairs — aimed at providing better services to licensees and the public, at lower costs — has been introduced in the state legislature by Assemblyman John Knox. The proposed Division will be made up of nine of the Department's present boards. According to Richard McManus, deputy director of Consumer Affairs, the new Division would "streamline administrative support services." License renewals, applications, examinations and complaint handling duties would be consolidated under Knox's bill, with an annual cost reduction of 12.1 per cent.

RIGHTS BILLS PROPOSED

(Sacramento, Calif.) — Ms. Rose Elizabeth Bird, state secretary of Agriculture, and Taketsugu Takei, director of Consumer Affairs, recently announced at a joint press conference the introduction of 17 bills intended to further the administration of California Governor Jerry Brown's progressive goals of consumer protection and regulatory reform. Ms. Bird described the package as "one of the most sweeping sets of legislative proposals ever put forth on behalf of the consumer."

Black Woman Racially Insulted, Arrested At Oakland Restaurant

(Oakland, Calif.) - Last week a Black woman was not only insulted by a White racist waitress at a well-known restaurant here but also had her children taken away by Oakland police who came to arrest her when she decided to defend her dignity.

Ms. Sandra Hayes and her two children, Mandingo, 4, and Gloria, 2, had gone to the popular Merritt-Kirby restaurant to buy some pastries from the bake shop there. However, the White waitress who was filling out her order displayed a very distinct and very nasty racist attitude.

When the waitress finally completed the order Ms. Hayes promptly returned it because it had been filled out incorrectly. The waitress then boldly called Sandra "a Black bitch" and ran into the back of the store to call the police.

Ms. Hayes refused to leave and when the police arrived she was immediately arrested — no questions asked.



SANDRA HAYES displays coat torn by Oakland police.

Frantically she attempted to make arrangements for her children but she was brutally thrown into a paddy wagon and her children were left standing on the sidewalk.

Hours later Ms. Hayes was booked on the charges of resisting arrest and disturbing the peace. Although she was soon released, it was to take her two days before she could locate her children.

First she was told that her children were in a children's

CONTINUED ON PAGE 25



Recent "Justice for Tyrone Guyton" rally held in front of the California State Building in San Francisco demanded that state attorney general Evelle Younger appoint a special prosecutor to indict the cop killers of the 14-year-old Black youth. Speakers included TOM BROOME (center) and (insets, left to right) Mrs. MATTIE SHEPARD, mother of Tyrone, ELAINE BROWN, Rev. FRANK PINKARD and KEN MEADE.

DEMAND SPECIAL PROSECUTOR IN TYRONE GUYTON MURDER CASE

(San Francisco, Calif.) - Reflecting the undaunted attitude of a struggle for justice that has been its cornerstone of strength for so long, a crowd of some 200 demonstrators withstood both cold winds and rain last Wednesday to demand the appointment of a special prosecutor in the Tyrone Guyton murder case.

"They are wrong, they are racist and this system is rotten to the core," Mrs. Mattie Shepherd angrily remarked regarding her two-and-a-half year effort to see the three White Emeryville cops who murdered her 14-year-old son Tyrone Guyton in cold blood prosecuted for their crime.

Backed by a prestigious and influential list of speakers—including Black Panther Party chairperson Elaine Brown, Assemblyman Ken Meade and Rev. Frank Pinkard—the demand that state Attorney General Evelle Younger appoint a special prosecutor comes in the face of the continued refusal of Alameda County District Attorney Lowell Jensen to prosecute the killer cops for the Guyton murder.

Adding to the emotion and rage, the rally, staged on the steps of the State Building here, came just nine days after one of the White cops, Dale Phillips, was indicted for illegal use of

heroin.

Phillips—who on the night of November 1, 1972, is known to have fired his .3357 magnum into the prostrate Black youth's back from less than 10 feet away—used his drug connections to have an informant named Dolores Wyingale tell the investigating Oakland police that Tyrone had a gun the night of the murder. No gun was ever found yet Jensen steered the grand jury to twice file a "justifiable homicide" verdict.

Speaking at the rally, Black Panther Party chairperson Elaine Brown frankly told the demonstrators that: "We must mount massive community support for Tyrone Guyton. The only thing that will cause Evelle Younger to take heed of what we have to say is if we mount massive numbers of people to force him to do that."

"Evelle Younger has been an insult to the people for a long time," Elaine said. "He was the doggish district attorney in Los Angeles around the time of the Watts uprising. There's no point in looking to a dog to deliver justice because you're not going to get it. It's time to get other people out."

"Tyrone Guyton has been dead now for over two years. As a mother with a six-year-old daughter how can I imagine what the loss of my child would be like? How can I imagine what could be paid back to me and mine for the loss of my child?"

"What we must do then is to create an avenue where the rest of our children can feel comfort-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 25



Elaine Brown Panelist At "Community Budget" Conference

(Oakland, Calif.) - Gesturing to emphasize her point, Black Panther Party chairperson ELAINE BROWN was one of three panelists addressing the topic "The Politics of Oakland's Fiscal Crisis" at the Oakland Study Group's well-attended conference last Saturday at Laney College. Moderated by PAUL DAVIS (far left), panelists flanking Elaine are veteran City Hall reporter BILL NORTHWOOD and CETA workers' organizer KATHY SULLIVAN. See next week's issue of THE BLACK PANTHER for the full text of Elaine Brown's remarks.

BPINS photo

HARLEM PARENTS PROTEST CUTBACKS IN CITY SCHOOLS

(New York, N.Y.) - Militant parents of Manhattan school children have been occupying several school offices day and night for more than a month in a confrontation over educational cutbacks and community control in the New York City school system.

Recently, the protesters have won one round against the Central School Board which has traditionally opposed all efforts toward community control. Classes have continued throughout the sit-ins.

The fight was touched off in the fall of 1975 when the Board of Education announced that school would close at 2:15 p.m. instead of 3:00 p.m. on Monday and Friday in all New York City schools. The announcement came as a result of city-wide educational cutbacks and a compromise worked out during the 1975 teachers' strike.

Faced with the shortened day, District 3, one of 35 school districts in New York City's five boroughs, took a hard look at its budget and staffing, rearranged priorities, and announced that it could dismiss children at the usual 3:00 p.m. time.

CONFLICT

But District 3 — which includes the multiracial West Side of Manhattan and parts of Black and Spanish Harlem — found itself immediately in conflict with the Central Board and Chancellor of Education Irving Anker, who ordered the schools to enforce the early closing policy.

Elva Berger, a District 3 parent active in the protests, described the parents' response:

"In this district we decided that we wanted to have a say in what happens to our children's future. My child is in first grade and it's hard for me to even imagine what it's going to be like if he's losing out on 90 minutes now, and next year more cutbacks.

We don't have any guidance counselors, we are as understaffed as we can possibly be. I don't see how we can cut back any further. If we don't show our presence now, we don't have a chance next September."

A court fight ensued between the District's local school board and the Central Board over who had the right to decide the issue. But in late February, when it looked as though District 3 teachers were about to crumble and join all other districts in the city in dismissing students early,



A march by Black Harlem parents successfully halted the closing of New York City schools P.S. 144 and 113.

without waiting for the court decision, parents at P.S. 87 sat in to protest.

"It started with one school and then it caught on and each week we gained a few more schools," explained Mr. Berger. At its height, parents in some District 3 schools took turns maintaining a day and night presence in the schools, and by the end of March, the sit-ins had spread to one school in District 6, with the hope of more schools in other districts to follow.

District 3 parents are also concerned with the announced closing of two district schools next fall — P.S. 144 and 113. The Board has announced the closing of two schools in every district — which it claims are underutilized — as a way to save money.

"P.S. 144 and 113 are both Harlem schools," said Berger,

"and we assume the reason they thought to close those two was that they didn't think they'd get any hassle. But they are getting a hassle!"

Protesting the closings as well as the early dismissals, 700 parents and children marched on March 25 to the two schools that are threatened with closing, and on to the State Office Building in Harlem.

And parent pressure on the local board has caused it to declare that it will not allow the closing of P.S. 144 and 113. A third demand accepted by the local board guarantees parents that the district superintendent must be responsible to the local board and it in turn to the parents.

(We wish to thank *Liberation News Service* for the information contained in this article.) □

Black Doctor's Fight Reaches Mass. High Court

(Boston, Mass.) — The controversial case of Dr. Kenneth Edelin, the Black Massachusetts physician who was convicted in February, 1975, of manslaughter after his performance of a legal abortion, reached the state supreme court last week. Charging, "This was an improper prosecution," Edelin's attorney, Charles Nelson, is seeking to have the conviction overturned on the grounds that the aborted fetus could not have lived outside the mother's body.

The 1973 trial of Dr. Edelin drew national attention, focusing on the issue of a state's right to impose sanctions on a doctor for performing a legal abortion. There was no state abortion law in effect in Massachusetts at that time. The precedent-setting conviction brought further speculation as to whether racism played any role in Dr. Edelin's case. Adding to the trial's impact was the highly-charged anti-Black atmosphere in Boston at that time (1973) — the first year of the violence-filled school busing desegregation plan.

Dr. Edelin, 37, who was sentenced to a year's probation, continues to practice medicine at Boston City Hospital. The court is expected to render a decision on his appeal within six months.

PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

"Energy Stamps" For Poor

(Atlanta, Ga.) - The creation of "energy stamps" to assist the nation's poor in paying for the increased cost of fuel, gasoline and electricity was urged by the Southern Conference of Black Mayors here this week. The over 60 Black mayors said that the program, similar to the food stamp program, could be financed by a tax levied on the utility industry.

S.F. Welfare Ruling

(San Francisco, Calif.) - In an important victory for this city's poor people, the state Court of Appeals ruled here recently that the mayor of San Francisco and the Board of Supervisors must establish standards for General Assistance (GA) payments. The suit, filed on behalf of GA recipients by attorney Fred Furth, charged that the GA payments provided by San Francisco were arbitrarily low and insufficient.

Supreme Court Attacked

(Washington, D.C.) - Officials of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), Consumers Union and seven other legal and public interest groups last week accused the U.S. Supreme Court of having "thwarted" the promise of the Constitution by drastically limiting citizens' access to the high court. In a three-page letter distributed to participants in a nationwide conference of judges and lawyers held in St. Paul, Minnesota, the civil libertarians declared that the Supreme Court "is embarked on a dangerous and destructive journey designed to dilute the power of the federal judiciary to serve as guardian of federal Constitutional rights."

N.Y. Inmates Strike

(Beacon, N.Y.) - Nearly 200 inmates in the Matteawan State Hospital for mentally ill prisoners, here, recently staged a hunger strike in protest of a policy of automatic denial of their paroles. All of the inmates at Matteawan were originally confined to a state prison and then became mentally ill. In order to be eligible for parole, however, a patient must first be evaluated as being no longer ill and returned to a state prison.

BAY AREA ANGOLA SUPPORT GROUPS BLAST BLACK SCHOLAR EDITOR

(San Francisco, Calif.) - Two Bay Area Black groups last week condemned *Black Scholar* editor Robert Chrisman for making a false and misleading statement at a recent international Angola solidarity conference concerning a February 3 rally — co-sponsored by the two groups — here protesting U.S. involvement in Angola.

The Black Coalition Against U.S. Involvement in Angola and the African Liberation Support Coalition (ALSC) issued a joint statement criticizing Chrisman's remarks at a conference held in February in Havana, Cuba, at which U.S. Black journalists and three high-ranking officials of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) met. (See THE BLACK PANTHER, March 13, 1976, and article on page 19 of this issue.)

In a solidarity statement delivered on behalf of the Black American movement against U.S. involvement in Angola, Chrisman falsely credited the "Monterro West Coast Branch of the Anti-Imperialist Conference and Solidarity for putting together a demonstration of several thousand people against (Secretary of State) Henry Kissinger as he spoke there (in San Francisco) on Angola."

MONTERRO BRANCH

The Monterro Branch mentioned by Chrisman refers to a group led by Tony Monterro, an organizer for the Young Workers Liberal League and a member of the central committee of the Communist Party USA — an affiliate of the National Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression headed by Angela Davis.

Co-sponsored by the Angolan Solidarity Coalition and the Black Coalition Against U.S. Involvement in Angola, the February 3 San Francisco rally in Union Square Park — at which Black Panther Party chairperson Elaine Brown, representing the Black Coalition, was the featured speaker — was held to coincide with a luncheon at the nearby Fairmount Hotel where Kissinger made a major speech on American foreign policy. (See THE BLACK PANTHER, February 14, 1976.)

Emphasizing who the true organizers of the highly successful rally were, the joint statement from the ALSC and the Black Coalition declared:

"We demand a public retrac-



ELAINE BROWN speaks at February 3 Angola rally in San Francisco.

tion in the pages of the *Black Scholar*, an organ that Chrisman offered to the Angolans to tell the truth about their struggle. We demand that the pages of the *Black Scholar* be used to tell the truth about a struggle in San Francisco in which the National Alliance had no part in, except possibly as observers."

At Havana, Chrisman mentioned the cancellation of a scheduled speech by Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) National Director Roy Innis in San Fran-

cisco the week following the rally. However, at no point in his comments did Chrisman credit the cancellation of the speech to a February 11 press conference sponsored by the Black Coalition at which several leaders of the Bay Area Black community — including Elaine Brown — made a heated public condemnation of Innis and CORE for recruiting Black Vietnam veterans to fight in Angola with Black reactionaries there. (See THE BLACK PANTHER, February 21, 1976.) □



Oakland Support Rally For People's Angola

(Oakland, Calif.) - Some 300 Oakland residents turned out last Sunday evening in support of the victorious MPLA-led People's Republic of Angola.

Sponsored by the Black Coalition Against U.S. Involvement in Angola and the Angola Solidarity Coalition, the crowd listened intently to speeches by BELVIE ROOKS (top left), representing the Black Coalition; T. KANGAI (center), Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) representative; STEVE TALBOT from Internews news agency, and a poetry recitation by Sharon Jackson.

BPINS photos

Black Unemployment Up— 26 Per Cent

(Washington, D.C.) — The official unemployment rate among Blacks has steadily risen over the last eight months from 13.0 per cent to 13.7 per cent, and workers who have been without work for longer periods than any time since the Great Depression, *Liberation News Service* reports.

According to the National Urban League, which issues quarterly statistics on Black unemployment, "the unofficial but more accurate Black jobless rate remains at 26 per cent." Black unemployment is now over 3,000,000 the Urban League says, "taking into account those workers who have become discouraged and dropped out of the labor market and those holding part-time jobs because they could not find full time jobs (not counted in the official Department of Labor statistics.)"

While some people are getting their jobs back, over one million people around the country were reported to have exhausted their unemployment benefits. As of January, 1976, the Labor Department reported over 1,500,000 people out of work for seven months or longer — three times as many people as the previous January.

MANPOWER TRAINING

To make matters worse, the Urban League reports that manpower training (job teaching) funds to inner cities have been shifted to suburban and rural areas. At the same time, CETA (Comprehensive Employment and Training Act), the emergency legislation intended to provide public service jobs to areas hard-hit by unemployment, "has been shifting emphasis from helping people most in need of jobs to helping those recently unemployed and with higher educational levels," the Urban League charges.

A Department of Labor study done in February, 1976, came to the not too surprising conclusion that unemployment hits people differently depending on job category. Only 2.9 per cent of all managers and administrators were unemployed in February, 1976, compared to 14.1 per cent of all laborers. Professional and technical workers had a 3.6 per cent unemployment rate compared to 6.7 per cent for clerical workers, 8.9 per cent for service workers, and 9.8 per cent for production workers. □

EX-BLACK AGENT DETAILS CONSPIRACY

CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE
state's conspiracy to kill George Jackson was finally coming out.

Questioned all day Thursday out of the jury's presence — by Judge Broderick to supposedly establish the "relevance" of his testimony — and all day Monday with the jury in court, Tackwood laid bare the police plot against George Jackson.

Tackwood testified that his involvement in the conspiracy to kill Jackson began in July, 1970, when he was summoned to a meeting at CCS. Involved with carrying out the death plot were LAPD Sergeants Robert Sharrett, Edward Watkins, R.G. Farwell, Larry Brown, Don Beasley, Ray Callahan, Dan Mahoney and a Lt. Robert Keel. All of them, Tackwood said, were directly or indirectly assigned to the CCS "black desk" unit which attempted to infiltrate and destroy Black radical groups.

KEY INFORMER

Working as the key police informer with this group was Melvin Cotton Smith, an agent who had infiltrated the Black Panther Party. Tackwood also testified that, to his knowledge, before the Jackson assassination was completed, the FBI, the Special Identifications and Investigations (SII) section of the LAPD, the Criminal Investigations and Identifications (CII) section of the state attorney general's office and Army intelligence were all involved.

From July, 1970, to August 6, 1970, Tackwood said he spent most of his time in the Santa Cruz area, part of the time "bird dogging" Angela Davis, which he said was easy. He said he left for Los Angeles on August 6 because three days earlier, CCS and the Santa Cruz police had learned of the specific details of young Jonathan Jackson's historic bid for freedom at the Marin County Courthouse on August 7. (Seventeen-year-old Jonathan Jackson, George Jackson's younger brother, prison inmates William Christmas and James McClain and Judge Arthur Haley were killed leaving Marin County Courthouse that day in what by Tackwood's admission was a police set-up.)

Tackwood said he returned to northern California around September, 1970, still working on the same assignment. During the next few months, Tackwood said he worked with a group of several members of the Los Angeles Chapter of the Black Panther Party who had been deluded by



Bloody and ramshackled cell of Black Panther Party Field Marshal George Jackson on August 21, 1971, the day of his murder set-up by Los Angeles police, state and army intelligence agents.

Cotton Smith into falsely believing that they were to participate in breaking George Jackson out of jail:

BRODERICK: "When you say, 'Cotton Smith, our inside man,' you mean Smith —"

TACKWOOD: "Was a police agent."

TACKWOOD: "... In other words, they were going to supposedly break him (George Jackson) out. But the men involved were all to be killed."

BRODERICK: "Cotton Smith is not really planning to break him out?"

TACKWOOD: "No, he is planning to have everybody killed. . . If you read the CCS report, your Honor, you will see

they (the police) even had the guns and the guns' serial numbers."

This particular plot failed, Tackwood said, when a judge refused to allow George Jackson to attend a trial where the breakout was to be made.

It was also around this time, September-October, 1970, that Tackwood testified, "I came up with the idea, and was okayed by CCS, to assassinate Huey Newton." Judge Broderick, however, would not allow him to detail the plot.

Back in Los Angeles in November and December, Tackwood returned north in early 1971. From then until August 21, 1971, Tackwood said he infiltrated a

mysterious Coalition of 7 which plotted to break George Jackson out of prison.

This group, Tackwood remarked, "had nothing to do with the Panthers whatsoever." CCS's objective, Tackwood said, remained the same — "Kill, murder George Jackson. . . The utmost thing, as far as CCS was concerned, was getting rid of Jackson."

On August 2, 1971, Tackwood testified that he and CCS Sergeants Sharrett and Mahoney smuggled into San Quentin Prison a snub-nosed .38 revolver with the hammer filed off "and the gun passed hands from us to a guard." He said the .38 was to be used when "we had planned to kill him (Jackson) on the 23rd (of August)."

There was an "uproar" Tackwood said, when he attended a meeting at CCS headquarters on August 22, the day after George Jackson had been assassinated.



Blood-stained first tier Adjustment Center hall after murder of George Jackson.

"CII fucked up," Sgt. Sharrett began the meeting by saying. (Prior to Tackwood's taking the stand, an inmate witness named Charles Johnson testified that on August 21 he saw what looked like a .45 automatic hanging out of the pocket of Adjustment Center officer Paul Krasnes. This gun was later found in the AC courtyard near the fallen body of George Jackson.)

Then, Tackwood said, Lt. Keel made the comment, "We got to get the gun (.38) out of there. Yes, we have to. This is a successful assignment, but they always fuck-up up north."

"It's a good thing we killed that Black bastard."

Tackwood said that when the short meeting ended, he got paid and left.

The next week, back at CCS, Lt. Keel smilingly told Tackwood he had a "present" for him, simultaneously sliding the now retrieved .38 revolver across the table. □

S.Q. Death Row Hunger Strike Continues

(Tamal, Calif.) - Inmates on San Quentin's Death Row here entered the second week of their hunger strike last week, vowing to continue the strike until prison officials met the inmates' numerous demands, which include better health care. Speaking on behalf of the 42 striking inmates, attorney Paul W. Comiskey said that three of them are ill, one of whom Comiskey said should be hospitalized because of a bleeding ulcer.

Comiskey charged that San Quentin officials are lying in claiming that the prisoners are eating food from the canteen. All that they have been consuming, he reported, is coffee, water and cigarettes. The attorney went on to explain that the condemned inmates are angry because the prison administration has denied them access to the media, preventing them from building widespread community support for their demands.

Three of the inmates' 11 demands have already been rejected by the prison. They are the demand for a hot lunch to replace the present cold sack lunch — denied because allegedly it is not "logistically possible"; the right for all of the Death Row inmates to exercise at the same time; and the demand to keep the present visiting room. A prison spokesperson said that a new visiting room is under construction which will separate visitors and inmates by bullet-proof glass.

"BLACK INVASION"**Demo. Candidate
Jimmy Carter
Preaches
"Ethnic Purity"**

(Washington, D.C.) — Black politicians and leaders across the country — including the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) — have bitterly condemned Democratic presidential candidate Jimmy Carter for his racist comment last week that the "ethnic purity" of White neighborhoods should be preserved.

All 17 CBC members denounced Carter's statement. Bay Area Congressman Ron Dellums, a CBC member, warned Black voters to begin to closely study the attitudes and records of all presidential candidates instead of "cheaply" giving their support to Carter. Dellums added:

"Jimmy Carter is, in fact, a stranger to most American people — and for that matter so are virtually all of the other candidates in this race," the Berkeley, California, Black Democrat said.

STATEMENT

Carter's "ethnic purity" statement — which was also been widely criticized by his opponents for the Democratic nomination as well as some of the White establishment media in the U.S. — was made in a disastrous campaign speech on April 6 in South Bend, Indiana. Attempting to appeal to "Archie Bunker" type Whites, the former Georgia governor said that he opposes "artificial" or "deliberate" efforts by the federal government to inject "alien groups" — a clear reference to Black people — into communities with a different racial or economic makeup.

A belated attempt by Carter to apologize for the racist statement failed completely. He had been considered a "liberal" by many Black Democrats in the country, some of whom have been actively campaigning for Carter.

Meanwhile, Carter got one vote of support from former Georgia governor and arch segregationist Lester Maddox. Maddox, who was notorious during the early and middle 1960s for using pick handles to beat Black patrons out of his friend chicken restaurant in Atlanta rather than integrate, said:

"I want to thank him (Carter) for coming out with a new segregationist term. I think that's a great term. We segregationists have been looking for one for a long, long time." □

**BLACK YOUTH MURDERED BY K.K.K. AT
BENEFIT FOR GARY TYLER**

(Louisville, Ky.) — Leaders of the national movement to Free Gary Tyler publicly condemned the KKK-style murder of Richard Dunn on March 27 in New Orleans, Louisiana. Dunn, a 19-year-old Black worker, was gunned down by a pair of White night-riders near the campus of Southern University there. His murderers have yet to be found.

Dunn and a friend, 16-year-old Gus Sivens, had just left an all-night dance sponsored by the Southern University student government. The dance was part of a week of activities to support Gary Tyler, a Black 17-year-old youth who is currently on death row in Louisiana.

Dunn and Givens were standing at a bus stop near the campus when an orange-colored VW with two Whites in it pulled up and pointed a shotgun at them. The passenger fired and the car sped off. Dunn was killed as he pushed Givens away from the shots, saving Givens' life.

Leaders of the movement to Free Gary Tyler have drawn a direct connection between the Dunn murder and other attempts to harass supporters of Tyler. Michael Kaplan, a spokesperson for the Free Gary Tyler Committee in New Orleans, pointed to "numerous KKK death threats on myself and other defense



A Black youth was killed by KKK terrorists (right) after attending a benefit for 17-year-old GARY TYLER (left).



leaders" and the fact that "known KKK members left Klan 'calling cards' on cars outside another recent fund-raising activity" as proof of a concerted attempt to intimidate the growing Free Tyler movement.

CONVICTED

Gary Tyler was convicted in the 1974 shooting death of a White student in Destrehan, a small Louisiana town 40 miles north of New Orleans. The shooting occurred during a mob attack on a bus of Black students that was part of opposition to desegregation of the schools. Earlier this month, the key prosecution witness against Tyler stepped forward and exposed that the state had coerced her into lying in

court. The murder weapon in the case was never linked to Tyler. (See THE BLACK PANTHER, April 3, 1976.)

New developments in the Tyler case have recently drawn national news coverage, and a large defense effort for Tyler, who was sentenced to death by an all-White jury, has been organized including numerous civil rights and labor organizations across the country.

Despite charges by Tyler defense leaders that the KKK was involved in the Dunn shooting, New Orleans police department spokespersons say they are not investigating this aspect of the case. The police have made no efforts to increase protection of Tyler activists nor Southern University students.

ROUTINE HOMICIDE

In a telephone interview, New Orleans police Sgt. Frank Hayward stated that local police have "not asked the FBI to come into this case" and that they are treating the Dunn shooting as a routine homicide. Police had no comment on a statement by Gus Givens, Dunn's companion, that the police tried to make him say that Dunn's murderers were Black.

Bob Zellmer, executive director of Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF) and long-time civil rights activist, said in a statement to the press, "It's pretty obvious that if a White youth had been killed by two Black men, the police would have picked up every Black person with an orange VW for 200 miles. When Gary Tyler was framed up, it was front-page news and they manufactured evidence in order to convict an innocent Black youth. But Richard Dunn's murder only rated a few paragraphs in the back of the Sunday paper. That's racism and it's coming directly from those in power." □

**Boston Teenage Racists Beat Black Man**

(Boston, Mass.) — A Black man was severely beaten outside of city hall here last week by a group of White racist teenage bigots who had skipped school in yet another Boston antibusing protest.

THEODORE LANDSMARK, 29, executive director of the Boston Contractors Association, was on his way to a meeting in Boston City Hall when he was attacked without warning by a group of White high school students demonstrating outside of the building.

"We got ourselves a nigger," yelled several of the racists as they attacked Landsmark.

After he was beaten, police "rescued" the Black executive who was taken to Massachusetts General Hospital where he was treated for head gashes and a broken nose. In disgust, Landsmark commented, "I was just walking along and I get beat up. This is insane." □

...And Bid Him Sing

By David G. Du Bois

Exciting Novel Examines Lives Of
Black Americans In Egypt

As the following excerpt of *...And Bid Him Sing* opens, Suliman Ibn Rashid bitterly explains his rage at the racism of American society, a rage which led him and other Black Americans — among them his friend Bob Jones, who is also featured in this excerpt — to leave the U.S. and settle in Cairo, Egypt. **BLACK PANTHER** Editor-in-Chief David G. Du Bois is the author of this important and exciting novel.

PART 26

"Fuck over there! Whitey can have that shit over there. I ain't got nothing to do over there. The Black man over here has got to crush that motherfucker over there. There's more of us than of them, a lot more. I ain't got *nothin' over there*, never did have!"

"What about that little African princess you fathered and left over there and about whom you now write pomes of such agonizing loss, as if she was already dead and in her grave before she's reached her fifth year?"

My back had been to Suliman as I said this. When I turned to hand him his glass I felt myself recoil at the desperation I saw in his eyes, the pained expression on his face as he stared at me. I saw the beginnings of the welling up, but before the tears overflowed he'd taken his glass from me, swung around and marched, back straight, bobbing up and down, out of the balcony.

I didn't follow him.

FRIENDS

After some moments I called out to the balcony, "I've got some Egyptian friends I want you to meet." Suliman was leaning over the railing. He turned and came into the room. He seemed completely composed, almost defiant.

"They're Communists, or at least they were Communist when there was a Communist Party here. Been in and out of jail. One of them was in for four years — political prisoners. One's a novelist and the other two are journalists. They speak good English. I'll try to get them together one night next week and we'll turn on."

"Do they smoke?" he asked incredulously.

"Whenever they can get it, which isn't often. They can't afford it on what they earn. They are forever buying books. I've mentioned you to them already and they want to meet you."

One of them, he's called Abdel Moneim, has met a couple of the niggers working at the embassy. He's got a big thing for shafting Americans. Goes out of his way to meet them and sets them up in front of his friends to laugh at them. Get them tied up in defending U.S. policy, particularly in Africa, and makes them look ridiculous. He's a shrewd cookie. All Egyptian charm. Most never know they're being intellectually fucked. Some of the shrewder ones, realizing what he's doing, try to take him on at his own game. That really turns him on and they end up running like hell — away from him.

One of the niggers is the assistant commercial counselor. I introduced them, just to see what would happen. Abdel Moneim wiped up the floor with that nigger, in the middle of Groppi's tea room and surrounded with the nigger's ass-licking, U.S.-loving, Egyptian friends.

"The other one is a boss-looking Black sister, secretary of some kind at the embassy. Only, she's shrewder than Abdel Moneim. Knows he's trying to get



Students study and relax on the grounds of the Jizah campus of Cairo University.

into her drawers. Won't be drawn into politics. Got the cat climbing up the wall. He keeps trying to get me to talk to the sister for him."

"What's he look like?"

"Tall, good looking, darker than me with almost straight black hair. All smiles and good humor; great joker. Comes from what they call here a good family, meaning in this case intellectuals, university professors mostly. He's the black sheep of the family." Suliman shot me a piercing look.

"White sheep, I mean," I corrected, unconvinced but unwilling to take up his challenge. "He knows everybody in publishing in Egypt. Can probably get some of your poems published in Arabic here. He could translate them. He translated Lorraine Hansberry's *Raisin in the Sun* for the radio."

"When do you figure on us getting together?"

"I'll get in touch with him and let you know. You keep in touch with me. Call me tomorrow or the day after."

"Where's that typewriter?"

"Oh yeah, I forgot." I went into the bedroom to get it. When I returned Suliman was standing, his books and manila envelope in one hand, his cane in the other.

How will you manage with the typewriter?" I asked.

Shifting the books and envelope to the cane hand, he took the typewriter by the handle with his left hand, then replaced the books and envelope in the same hand. "This is cool. I'll call you tomorrow. I'm going to get to work on typing up the poems. I'll make an extra copy for you. Man, thanks for everything!"

"Man, thank you, I answered. "You brought me back to where it's really at tonight. I'd almost forgotten. Take it easy and keep cool. . . You sure you can manage with that typewriter?"

"Think so."

"You got money for a cab?"

"No. I'm gonna walk it."

"Look, you better take a cab."

I reached into my pocket and handed him a note. "Here's twenty-five piastres. That's enough to get you to your place. You can give it back when you can."

"Thanks, brother," he said, obviously embarrassed. "I'll give it back the first of the month, soon's we get our money."

"Don't worry about it." I walked him to the elevator, which was already on its way up. When it arrived I opened the doors for him.

"Ma as salam," I said as he got into the elevator.

"See ya, brother."

TO BE CONTINUED

...AND BID HIM SING

An exciting novel of Black Americans living in Egypt in the 1960s

By BLACK PANTHER Intercommunal News Service Editor-in-Chief DAVID G. DU BOIS

... David G. Du Bois' first novel makes a new space on the slim shelf labelled Black expatriate fiction... this frighteningly accurate characterization of Ugly Afro-Americans in Africa is a sobering reminder of the special cultural baggage and blinders we carry home. In this case home is Cairo, Egypt... In *And Bid Him Sing*, David Du Bois has given us a picture of our sixties through the eyes of another Black culture and understanding.

Those of us who are planning to visit or live in Africa should see *And Bid Him Sing* as a kind of guide to bad manners abroad. And we who are ready to nostalgize the sixties would do well to read and recognize some parts of all of ourselves who grew so quickly and changed our race before we could change our minds.

Francille Rusan Wilson
The Black Scholar

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REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE

By Huey P. Newton
"Patrolling"

Continuing with the chapter "Patrolling" from Revolutionary Suicide, Black Panther Party leader and chief theoretician Huey P. Newton details another instance of the racist police abuse suffered daily in the Black community and how the Party was persecuted because of its efforts to curtail this abuse.

On another occasion I stopped by the Black Panther office after paying some bills for my father. Since I was taking care of family business, I had not carried my shotgun with me — it was at home — but I did have a dagger, fully sheathed, in my belt.

PART 46

In the office were two comrades Warren Tucker, a captain in the Party, and another member. As we talked, an eleven-year-old boy burst into the office and said, "The police are at my friend's house, and they're tearing up the place."

This house was only about three blocks away, so the two Black Panthers and I hurried to the scene. Warren Tucker had a .45 pistol strapped to his hip in full view — but the other two of us had no weapons. We never kept weapons in the office, since we were there only periodically.

When we arrived, we found three policemen in the house, turning over couches and chairs, searching and pushing a little boy around and shouting. "Where's the shotgun?" The boy kept saying, "I don't have a shotgun," but the police went right on looking.

I asked the policeman who seemed to be in charge if he had a search warrant, and he answered that he did not need one because he was in "hot pursuit." Then he told me to leave the house. The little boy asked me to stay, so I continued to question the police, telling them they had no right to be there. The policeman finally turned on to me. "You're going to get out of here," he said. "No," I said, "you leave if you don't have a search warrant."

SEARCH WARRANT

In the middle of this argument the boy's father arrived and also asked the police for a search warrant. When the police admitted they did not have one, he ordered them out. As they started to leave, one of the policemen stopped in the doorway and said to the father, "Why are you telling us to get out? Why don't you get rid of these Panthers? They're the troublemakers."

The father replied, "Before this I didn't like the Panthers. I had heard bad things about them, but in the last few minutes I've changed my mind, because they helped my son when you pushed him around."

The police became even more outraged at this. All their hostility now turned toward us. As the whole group went down the steps



Cowardly Oakland police amass on main East Oakland street (above) and arrest Black man (right). Black Panther Party leader and chief theoretician Huey P. Newton led armed patrols against police brutality in the early days of the Party.



BPINS photos

and out into the yard, more policemen arrived on the scene. The house was directly across the street from Oakland City College, and the dozen or so police cars had attracted a crowd that was milling about. The policeman who had been ordered out of the house took new courage at the sight of reinforcements.

Walking over to me in the yard, he came close, saying, "You are always making trouble for us." Coming closer still, he growled at me in a low voice that could not be overheard. "You mother-fucker." This was a regular police routine, a transparent strategy. He wanted me to curse him before witnesses; then he could arrest me.

But I had learned to be cautious. After he called me a motherfucker, he stood waiting for the explosion, but it did not come in the way he expected. Instead, I called him a swine, a pig, a slimy snake — everything I could think of without using profanity.

By now he was almost apoplectic. "You're talking to me like that and you have a weapon. You're displaying a weapon in a rude and threatening fashion." Then he turned to Warren Tucker — Warren's gun was still in its holster — and said, "And so are

you." As if on signal, the fifteen policemen who had been standing around uncertainly stormed the three of us and threw on handcuffs.

They did not say they were placing us under arrest. If they had, we would gladly have taken the arrest under the circumstances without any resistance. From the way we went hurtling off in the paddy wagon, with its siren wailing and police cars ahead and behind, you might have thought they had bagged a Mafia capo.

BOOKED

After we were booked, they searched us and found a penknife in Warren Tucker's pocket, the kind Boy Scouts use. So, they dropped the charge of "displaying a weapon in a rude and threatening manner" and charged him simply with carrying a concealed weapon. Even that charge was eventually dropped.

This was the kind of harassment we went through over and over again, simply because we chose to exercise our constitutional rights to self-defense and stand up for the community. In spite of the fact that we followed the law to the letter, we were arrested and convicted of all sorts of minor trumped-up charges.

TO BE CONTINUED

REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE

"Jail is an odd place to find freedom, but that was the place I first found mine"

Huey P. Newton

With power and passion, the co-founder of the Black Panther Party tells his life story. Here is the dynamic account of the making of a revolutionary. Boyhood amid a deeply religious and loving family. Adolescence as thief, hustler, ghetto-survivor. Murder trial for the death of a policeman—a cause celebre that inspired the militant cry "Free Huey." Conviction. Imprisonment. And final exoneration. Huey P. Newton's autobiography "in a most moving sense is a testament to the black American's pain and dilemma in the 1970s." —Publishers Weekly

24 pages of photographs \$8.95

To purchase this book, send \$8.95 (hard-bound) or \$1.95 (paper-back) in cash or money order to: Central Distribution, 8501 E. 14th Street, Oakland, California 94621. Also available by Huey P. Newton: To Die For The People, \$1.95.

Harcourt Brace Jovanovich

TONY KLINE, JOHN GEORGE, ELAINE BROWN 1-2-3 IN 8th DISTRICT CAUCUS FOR BROWN

(Berkeley, Calif.) - A slate of nine progressive California Democrats — led by Elaine Brown, Black Panther Party chairperson, J. Anthony "Tony" Kline, legal affairs secretary for California Governor Jerry Brown, and John George, Alameda County Supervisorial candidate — was nominated here last Sunday at the 8th Congressional District Caucus for Jerry Brown to attend the Democratic National Convention in New York City this coming July.

Over four hundred people, including observers as well as 8th District registered Democrats who voted for the 94 candidates (there were originally 96 but two withdrew during the Caucus proceedings) for Brown delegates, turned out at the West Campus of Berkeley High School for the Caucus. United by the common desire to elect Governor Brown as the 1976 Democratic Presidential candidate, the 8th District Caucus — which is represented by Congressman Ron Dellums — was punctuated with an exuberant spirit, with a hope that Black, poor and oppressed people in California can have some real input into the upcoming National Democratic Convention.

Thanks to the hard, door-to-door three-day leafleting campaign carried out by volunteer workers for the Brown-Kline-George slate, 8th District Democrats were well informed about the April 11 Caucus. Anyone wishing to vote



BPINS photos

ELAINE BROWN

but not registered prior to the Caucus (participants were required to be registered voters) was able to do so upon arrival at the high school. Once the doors of the school were locked at 2:00 p.m. in accordance with state Democratic Party regulations, Black state Assemblyman John Miller, who served as chairperson for the Caucus, read to the



J. ANTHONY KLINE

JOHN GEORGE

participants all the regulations governing the Caucus.

Following the speeches by the 94 candidates or their nominators (candidates were not required to be present at the Caucus) were made. The candidates, young, old, Black, White, Chicano, women, students and others all spoke highly of Governor Brown and the vital need for the kind of leadership he can provide in creating viable alternatives for the established leadership of the Democratic Party. As one brother who ran for delegate summed it up, "Hubert Humphrey was the Democratic (presidential) candidate in 1968 when I came back from Vietnam. It's time for some new blood."

Ericka Huggins Leads Slate Ballot Sweep In 9th District Brown Delegate Elections

(San Leandro, Calif.) - Ericka Huggins, Director of the model Oakland Community School, led a slate of candidates to a sweeping victory in last Sunday's delegate election of 9th Congressional District Caucus for Jerry Brown.

The District Caucus concept, staged throughout the state this year for the first time, provided a unique forum for a display of grassroots participation in supporting the various Democratic Party presidential nominees. At the 9th Congressional District Caucus, held at Bancroft Junior High School here, over 200 Brown supporters turned out to vote for the 32 candidates for delegate seats at the 1976 Democratic Convention.

The crowd began arriving at Bancroft around 12:00 noon, and got right down to the serious friendly pastime of politicking for the delegate, candidates or slate of their choice before the Caucus officially closed its doors at 2:00 p.m.

Running as slate candidates on the same ticket with Ericka Huggins were: Elijah Turner, publicity director of Focus Cable TV and overall coordinator for the 9th District Caucus; Black Oakland attorney Hiawatha Roberts; Steve Costa, for three years administrative aide to Congressman Pete Stark, who represents the 9th District; David A. Creque, an Oakland school teacher; Clarence Davis, an Oakland attorney who also serves on the



HIAWATHA ROBERTS DAVID CREQUE

California Democratic Central Committee; and his wife, Barbara Davis, a longtime activist in popular Democratic politics.

Before the 2:00 p.m. deadline, the Bancroft school was in a swirl of activity. In the gymnasium and adjoining neatly kept courtyard, small groups of men and women huddled together in small groups, nodded their heads, exchanged a few laughs, and kept track as the slates filled up. Since 10 delegates would be elected and since few slates started off complete with 10 candidates, there were, in fact, some things to talk about and finalize before the actual voting began.

The hallways to the gymnasium were filled



STEVE COSTA

CLARENCE DAVIS



FLOYD MORI

BARBARA DAVIS

Candidates spoke in order of their appearance on the ballot. First to speak of the nine-member winning slate — a tenth winning candidate, Ms. Linda Perales, was not a member of the Brown-Kline-George slate — next to speak was Black attorney John George, the frontrunning candidate for the Fifth



PETER COPPELMAN MARY BERGAN



JOYCE K. MILLER BETH MEADOR

District seat, Alameda County Board of Supervisors. Calling for the injection of "people's politics" into the Democratic Convention George pledged his support of Governor Brown as the candidate who could insure "an open" Convention.

Tony Kline told the Caucus participants that he was "personally endorsed by Governor Brown." Kline an attorney, served as appointment secretary for Brown's cabinet. The remaining winning slate candidates were, in order of their appearance: Peter D. Coppelman, law partner of Black Panther Party attorney Fred Hiestand, who was an advisor in the Brown for Governor Primary Campaign in 1974; Rev. Frank Pinkard, head of the East Bay Baptist Ministerial Alliance, who was nominated by Ms. Joan Kelly, programs director of the Oakland Community Learning Center; Louis Macias, a longtime political activist in the Chicano community; Ms. Beth Meador, who served as campaign manager for Elaine Brown in her 1975 bid for a seat on the Oakland City Council; Ms. Joyce K. Miller, wife of Assemblyman John Miller and a veteran activist in Berkeley politics; Ms. Mary Bergan, legislative director of the California Federation of Teachers and chief organizer of the 8th

District Brown Caucus, and Elaine Brown. The final speaker of the winning slate, Elaine urged the Caucus to nominate the Brown-Kline-George slate because it represented a broad-based progressive coalition of Democrats dedicated to achieving meaningful political and economic change.

Following the speeches, the Caucus participants cast their votes in the main lobby of the high school where they enjoyed sack lunches and soft drinks provided free by the winning slate.

Of the 360 ballots cast, the breakdown of votes per candidate was as follows:

Tony Kline.....	218
John George.....	200
Elaine Brown.....	198
Peter Coppelman.....	138
Mary Bergan.....	137
Frank Pinkard.....	131
Joyce Miller.....	129
Luis Macia.....	101
Beth Meador.....	97
Linda Perales.....	92

Seven of the 10 candidates nominated by the Caucus will be chosen by the statewide Brown For President Committee to attend the Democratic National Convention. □

Calif. Black Caucus Endorses Brown Presidential Bid

(Sacramento, Calif.)— Governor Jerry Brown received a strong endorsement in his campaign for the Presidency last week from the California Legislative Black Caucus. Brown, in turn, declared that his Black Lieutenant Governor, Mervyn Dymally, "will serve the people well" if elevated to the governorship. In a recent packed press conference here six of the eight Black California legislators: John Miller, Bill Greene, Teresa Hughes, Leon Ralph, Curtis Tucker and Julian Dixon, signed a statement endorsing the young and popular Brown in his recently announced bid for President.

with serious business as well, as a row of women volunteers signed people in and passed out the ballots for voting, seated by the entrance way, two young and attractive Black women served as deputy voter registrars, registering to vote those who had not done so.

Outside, in front, leafleting supporters of the state initiative, #15, distributed literature which advocated the establishment of



ERICKA HUGGINS

nuclear power safeguards, and mingled with United Farm Workers supporters and leafleters for the various delegate candidates.

At 2:00 p.m. on the nose, the Caucus officially began. Chairperson for the Caucus, selected by the statewide Brown for President Committee, was state Assemblyman Floyd Mori. Welcoming the crowd's participation

Voter registrars at work at 9th District Jerry Brown Caucus.



Mori, who is a former mayor of Pleasanton, explained that although 10 Brown delegates were voted on, that day the 9th Congressional District only had a total of six delegates. Brown's percentage of the votes in the 9th District determined his final delegate count.

Later, Mori gave a fine and supportive nominating speech for Ericka.

When the ballots were cast — 191 voting — the final tally was:

Ericka Huggins.....	163
Steve Costa.....	150
Clarence Davis.....	136
Elijah Turner.....	130
Hudson Gerber.....	130
Floyd Mori.....	112
Barbara Davis.....	111
Hiawatha Roberts.....	110
David Creque.....	104
Donnie Harris.....	85



ELIJAH TURNER

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY PROGRAM

MARCH 29, 1972 PLATFORM

WHAT WE WANT, WHAT WE BELIEVE

1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that Black and oppressed people will not be free until we are able to determine our destinies in our own communities ourselves, by fully controlling all the institutions which exist in our communities.

2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every person employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the American businessmen will not give full employment, then the technology and means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE CAPITALIST OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules were promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of Black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million Black people. Therefore, we feel this is a modest demand that we make.

4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR THE SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS.

We believe that if the landlords will not give decent housing to our Black and oppressed communities, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that the people in our communities, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for the people.

5. WE WANT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT-DAY SOCIETY.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If you do not have knowledge of yourself and your position in the society and the world, then you will have little chance to know anything else.

6. WE WANT COMPLETELY FREE HEALTH CARE FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE.

We believe that the government must provide, free of charge, for the people, health facilities which will not only treat our illnesses, most of which have come about as a result of our oppression, but which will also develop preventative medical programs to guarantee our future survival. We believe that mass health education and research programs must be developed to give all Black and oppressed people access to advanced scientific and medical information, so we may provide ourselves with proper medical attention and care.

7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE, OTHER PEOPLE OF COLOR, ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE INSIDE THE UNITED STATES.

We believe that the racist and fascist government of the United States uses its domestic enforcement agencies to carry out its program of oppression against Black people, other people of color and poor

people inside the United States. We believe it is our right, therefore, to defend ourselves against such armed forces and that all Black and oppressed people should be armed for self-defense of our homes and communities against these fascist police forces.

8. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO ALL WARS OF AGGRESSION.

We believe that the various conflicts which exist around the world stem directly from the aggressive desires of the U.S. ruling circle and government to force its domination upon the oppressed people of the world. We believe that if the U.S. government or its lackeys do not cease these aggressive wars that it is the right of the people to defend themselves by any means necessary against their aggressors.

9. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK AND POOR OPPRESSED PEOPLE NOW HELD IN U.S. FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, CITY AND MILITARY PRISONS AND JAILS. WE WANT TRIALS BY A JURY OF PEERS FOR ALL PERSONS CHARGED WITH SO-CALLED CRIMES UNDER THE LAWS OF THIS COUNTRY.

We believe that the many Black and poor oppressed people now held in U.S. prisons and jails have not received fair and impartial trials under a racist and fascist judicial system and should be free from incarceration. We believe in the ultimate elimination of all wretched, inhuman penal institutions, because the masses of men and women imprisoned inside the United States or by the U.S. military are the victims of oppressive conditions which are the real cause of their imprisonment. We believe that when persons are brought to trial that they must be guaranteed, by the United States, juries of their peers, attorneys of their choice and freedom from imprisonment while awaiting trials.

10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE, PEACE AND PEOPLE'S COMMUNITY CONTROL OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

Intercommunal News

"FREE ZIMBABWE" RALLYING CRY OF PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE

(Maputo, People's Republic of Mozambique) - The liberation of Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) has become a national rallying cry in the People's Republic of Mozambique since the East African nation's president, Samora Moises Machel, closed his country's border with the rebel Ian Smith regime of Rhodesia on March 31, *Internews* news agency reports.

Addressing a recent news conference here, President Machel noted, "The support which the people of Mozambique give to the struggle in Zimbabwe is not emotional. It is the result of our awareness that the struggle in Zimbabwe is an integral part of the struggle in our country."

RADIO BROADCAST

In a nationwide radio broadcast on March 3, President Machel explained the reason for the border closing and the imposing of economic sanctions against the Smith government: "Our territory is being attacked. Our people are being massacred; the criminal and irresponsible regime of Ian Smith has launched a war of aggression."

The Mozambican people's spirit of revolutionary solidarity with the liberation struggle of Zimbabwe is evident in all phases of life in Mozambique. Radio Mozambique repeatedly inter-



White banner (above) declaring "Down with Ian Smith" was displayed at a recent rally held in Mozambique. Mozambican troops (right) show their support for the country's "state of war" declaration.



rupts music programs with calls for "vigilance," and support for the "just liberation struggle of the people of Zimbabwe."

Colorful banners bearing slogans of support for Zimbabwean freedom fighters hang prominently across the main streets of this capital city, as well as on bulletin boards outside offices, movie theaters and shops. *Noticias* newspaper carries a slogan in red across the bottom of its front page every day which usually refers to the struggle in Zimbabwe.

"We Will Push The Enemy Away From Our Frontiers By Supporting The Battle Of The People Of Zimbabwe" and "We Support The Just Struggle Of The People Of Zimbabwe With The Invincible Force Of Our Unity," are among recent slogans which have appeared in *Noticias*.

Despite the Smith government's violation of Mozambique's borders — in alleged "hot pursuit" of Zimbabwean freedom fighters — the Mozambique government does not feel it will be necessary to launch a major offense against the White Rhodesian regime. "It's Smith who is

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22



SAMORA MACHEL, esteemed president of Mozambique, maps strategy for Zimbabwe liberation.

Mozambique President Samora Machel: "Smith Will Lose In Zimbabwe"

The following interview with Samora Moises Machel, the brilliant and renowned president of the People's Republic of Mozambique, was published in the March 28 issue of the *London Observer*. The interview was conducted following the recent summit held in Lusaka, Zambia, by Presidents Machel, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Sir Seretse Khama of Botswana and Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, concerning the intensification of the armed struggle in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia).

Q.: What new strategy evolved from the Lusaka summit with your colleagues from Tanzania, Zambia, Botswana and Zimbabwe?

MACHEL: We decided to intensify the armed struggle, because (Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian) Smith's arrogance shows that it is impossible to negotiate. And we decided to consolidate unity in the midst of the armed struggle; to redefine the enemy, and that is very clearly Ian Smith; and, finally, to decide what targets to aim for.

The breakdown of the Smith-Nkomo talks showed everyone, especially the British, that Smith is incapable of understanding. So the only thing for Britain now is to support the armed struggle.

The armed struggle is not against Whites as such. Our strategy has a lot of respect for life, a lot of respect for human beings. No children will be killed because they are Whites, no

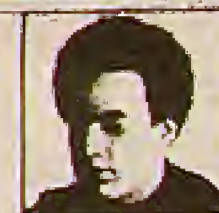
CONTINUED ON PAGE 22

THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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Nixon's Visit To China

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

guarding the great gate and its several stone bridge entrances.

A steady stream of traffic moves east and west through the Square: endless bicycles, an odd mixture of 1950-vintage Chinese made cars, late model Japanese Toyotas and Datsuns, olive painted and tarpined military jeeps, command cars and three-wheeled carriers and the occasional shiny black Hunqi (Red Flag) curtained limousine. The older red and yellow or green and yellow single coach public buses are now interspersed with new, accorian connected, orange and white double coach 10-wheeled diesel buses with large tinted windows all around. Not a scrap of paper, hardly a cigarette butt, never a discarded container is to be seen anywhere.

MUSEUM

This was the scene former President Richard M. Nixon surveyed as he descended the wide steps leading down from the entrance to the Historical Museum at about 11:30 Tuesday morning (February 23), the second full day of his much discussed visit to China. He had just been given an hour-and-a-half lecture based on a Marxist interpretation of China's history from prehistoric times to 1921.

"It is the masses of the people and not the emperors, ministers and generals, that make history," the exhibit repeatedly illustrates. It stresses the armed slave revolts that ultimately overthrew the slave system in China, and the massive country-wide armed peasant revolts that overthrew and ended each of China's oppressive feudal dynasties, one after the other. Mr. Nixon's party only covered about a quarter of the total exhibition, up to the Warring States period (B.C. 476-221). But there is no way this repeatedly illustrated point could have escaped him.

The exhibition was first organized and opened in 1959, but was closed in 1966 as the "great proletarian cultural revolution" was gaining momentum. Not until 1972 was it reopened, following extensive reorganization. "Some of our own historians and scholars resisted the reorganization," I was told by a Museum staffer, "and continued to give major importance to individual emperors, ministers, generals and leading intellectuals of the time."

Is it any wonder then that on leaving the exhibition Mr. Nixon was inspired to demonstrate before his hosts his "love for the masses" by plunging headlong into legitimate representatives of

HUA KUO-FENG
(left), new vice
chairman of Peo-
ple's China,
toasts former
President NIXON
during latter's re-
cent visit to the
country.



the Chinese masses in Tien An-men Square — patting the cheeks of babies, talking and laughing with ordinary citizens — as he strolled from the Museum across the Square to the Forbidden City for a well earned rest before lunch?

He had the morning before spent two hours at the National Agricultural Exhibition Center in northeast Peking where an exhibition on the National Movement to Learn from Tachai in Agriculture is currently on display. This exhibition celebrates the genius, determination, courage and fortitude of the ordinary peasants of the Tachai Production Brigade of Hsiyang County, Shansi Province in north China.

SCALE MODELS

It is composed of scale models, charts and graphs, photographs and sample agricultural products from selected counties throughout China that have followed the example of the Tachai experience of turning barren plains, rutted gullies and rocky mountainous terrain into green, productive fields in answer to the call of Chairman Mao, the Communist Party and the government that the first priority is to feed the nation. Perhaps Mr. Nixon reasoned that his hosts would

appreciate some recognition on his part of these "ordinary Chinese masses."

Although it is doubtful that Mr. Nixon would have left the seclusion of his San Clemente retreat some weeks ago to travel to San Francisco to attend the State Department-cancelled appearance of the Performing Arts Troup of China, he and his party heard the same troupe here on the Monday evening of his visit to China. Its performance featured the tenor solo, "People of Taiwan, Our Own Brothers," containing the line, "We are determined to liberate Taiwan" that occasioned the State Department's frightened cancellation of the scheduled tour. Without making reference to the cancelled tour, the official Hsinhua News Agency report of the "soiree" included this song among those listed as performed and wrote that the performance "drew hearty applause," from Mr. Nixon and his party.

Apparently Mr. Nixon chose to remember what Mr. Henry Kissinger chose to forget: The Shanghai Communique (signed by Nixon in 1972 on his first trip to China) proclaims Taiwan as historically part of China!

TO BE CONTINUED

Vice Chairman Purged In China

(Hong Kong) - In an action "personally initiated and led" by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the People's Republic of China last week removed party Vice-Chairman Teng Hsiao-ping from all posts in the party, government and army of the country. The action followed Hsiao-ping's steadfast refusal to adhere to Chairman Mao's policy of concentrating on class struggle to wipe out all remnants of capitalist ideas and practices. Hsiao-ping had pushed a policy of priority for economic development and stability.

This was the second time that Hsiao-ping was ousted from power. His first purge took place during the Cultural Revolution of the 1960s; he was restored to power in 1973. Hsiao-ping — who was acting premier of People's China and the chosen successor of the late Chou En-lai — was succeeded by Hua Kuo-feng. Hsiao-ping was allowed to "keep his party membership so as to see how he will behave himself in the future," a statement from the Central Committee was quoted as saying.

AFRICA IN FOCUS



Nigeria

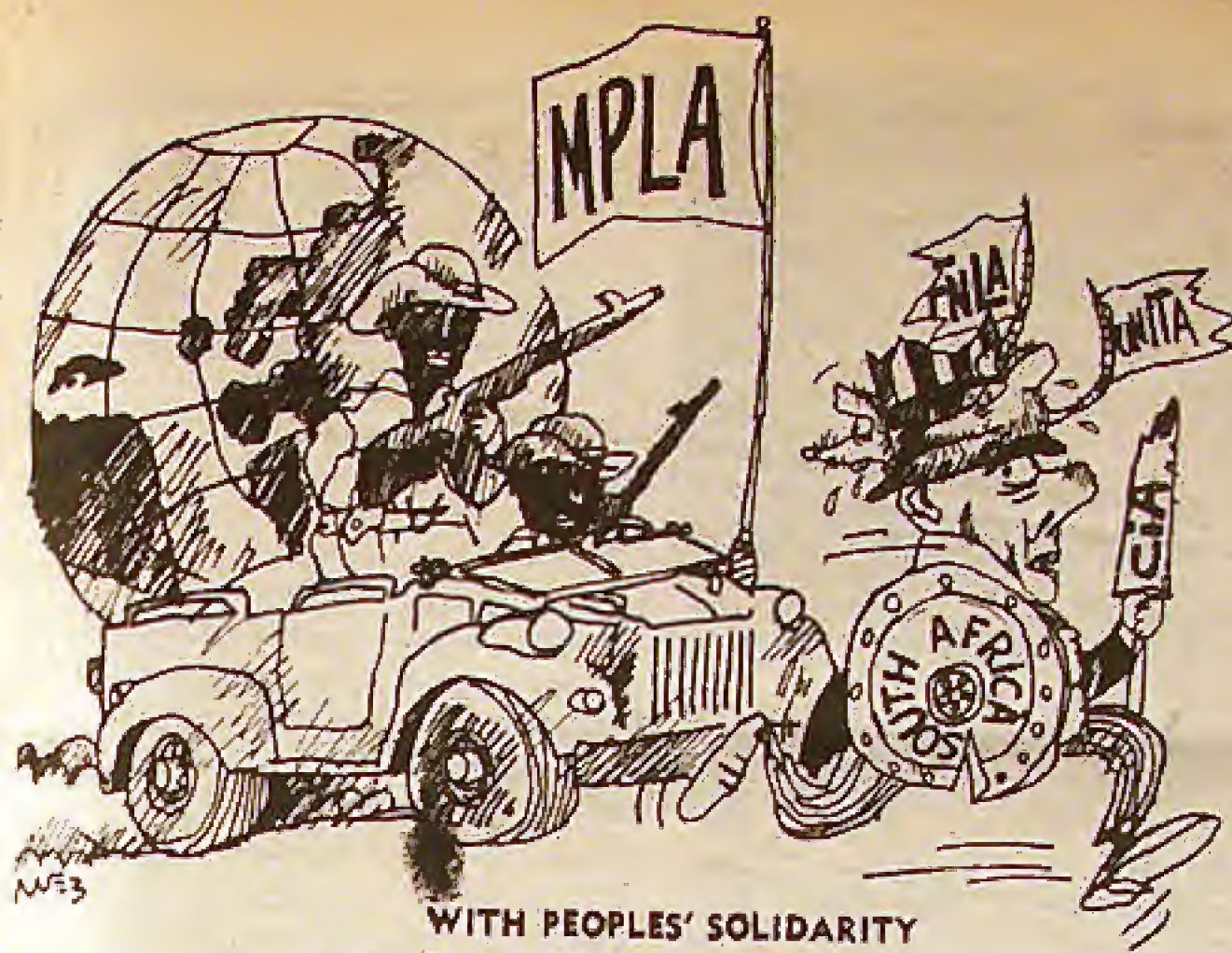
The government of Nigeria has officially asked Great Britain to return former Nigerian Head of State Gen. Yakubu Gowon home to answer charges of involvement in the country's recent abortive coup, *Internews* news agency reports. A broadcast on Lagos (capital city of Nigeria) Radio said that Nigerian External Affairs Minister Col. Joseph Garba had revealed the formal request at a press conference on his return from recent talks in Britain. Gowon has denied any role in the attempted overthrow of the Nigerian government on February 13 in which his successor, Gen. Murtala Muhammed, was murdered.

South Africa

The government of South Africa is reportedly considering releasing Nelson Mandela, head of the African National Congress (ANC), and other Black nationalist leaders now serving life sentences in the notorious Robben Island Prison. "Justice Minister" James Kruger said recently. As reported by *Internews* news agency, Kruger said he had received requests from the government of the Transkei (a Black "homeland") for the release of certain prisoners. Mandela, however, may refuse release as it would restrict him to the Transkei, which although slated for "independence" in October, will remain under the rule of the White settler regime.

Zimbabwe

South African "Ambassador" to the U.S. Roelof Botha last week threatened retaliation by his country if the U.S. and other powers do not make it clear to Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro that Cuba must stay out of the armed struggle in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). In a luncheon speech in Washington, D.C., Botha said, "We would hope that the U.S. and other governments would make it clear to them (Cubans) that this is something they should not endeavor." He did not specify what his government might do if Cuba aids Zimbabwean freedom fighters.



WITH PEOPLES' SOLIDARITY
From Cuba's Granma newspaper

"Potential Is What Angola Is All About"

S.F. Black Journalist Reports On M.P.L.A. Meeting In Cuba

In February of this year, the government of Cuba hosted a conference in Havana at which a three-member delegation from the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) met with representatives of the Black press of America in an effort to gain the support of the American people for the MPLA.

San Francisco Sun Reporter columnist Reggie Major was one of the Black American journalists who attended the Havana conference. Below, he recounts some of the conversations and highlights of the conference. The article is excerpted from a longer article in the April 3, 1976, issue of the Sun Reporter.

... Potential is what Angola is all about. Most of its wealth is under the ground and most of Angola's people are just being mobilized to act as citizens of a newly independent country. Angola needs help and the conference in Havana was a clear request for help to the American people.

The Angolans decided however to make their request through a predominantly Black delegation and to the Black press. MPLA is clearly asking that they become a part of the Afro-American political agenda.

"If the Black movement of America decides to support the MPLA and Angola, we are certain that this support will be strong," said Commandante Dibilala, spokesperson for the MPLA delegation.

MPLA recognizes that Black Americans and Angolans have

the same African origins and "That makes us feel closer, one to the other, with a feeling of closeness toward the Black movement existing in America. MPLA is asking Blacks to carry its battle for diplomatic recognition by the U.S., and its attempts to have Angolans visit the U.S. to the U.S. government. In addition, the Angolans are asking for material help to rebuild their country and revitalize its agriculture. Commandante Dibilala explained.

The fact is that MPLA has the problem of mobilizing, educating

CONTINUED ON PAGE 24

HISTORIC UNANIMOUS VOTE

U.N. TIGHTENS ECONOMIC SANCTIONS ON RHODESIA

(United Nations, N.Y.) - Intensifying its efforts to economically and politically isolate the White racist regime of Rhodesia, the United Nations Security Council voted unanimously last week to broaden economic sanctions against Rhodesia by barring insurance and commercial licensing operations benefitting the country.

The resolution, co-sponsored by all 15 Council members — said to be the first unanimous Council vote in U.N. history — extended the embargo on trade and other transactions with Rhodesia that have been in existence, although inadequately enforces, since 1968.

The resolution called on all U.N. members to prevent their citizens and residents from insuring any commodities or products exported from Rhodesia or to be imported into the breakaway British colony. In addition, members of the world body were asked to prevent their citizens and residents from granting to any commercial or industrial business in Rhodesia the right to use any trade name, trade mark or registered design. This provision was designed especially to hurt franchising agreements.

DOCUMENT

Co-sponsors of the document were the People's Republic of China, the Soviet Union, Britain,



Rhodesian Army reservists accompany White settler on walk.

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The White minority government of Rhodesia has managed to escape the full force of the U.N. sanctions during the past seven years mainly due to the support of the White racist regime of South Africa. However, diplomatic sources at the U.N. report that the new measures adopted last week should make it more difficult to violate the sanctions.

Among the industries hit by the resolution are West German, Japanese and French-made cars imported into Rhodesia and chrome imported into the U.S. in violation of the 1968 embargo.

Meanwhile, *Internews* news agency has revealed that Rhodesian "Prime Minister" Ian Smith may soon announce plans to include two or three Blacks in his reactionary government. Government sources said that the

CONTINUED ON PAGE 24

S.W.A.P.O. LEADER EXPRESSES SOLIDARITY WITH PEOPLE'S ANGOLA

Sam Nujoma is the president of the vanguard Black political organization of Namibia (South West Africa), the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO). In the following interview recently conducted by the Guardian, in Luanda, capital of the People's Republic of Angola, Brother Nujoma discusses the solidarity of SWAPO and the people of Namibia with the people of Angola under the revolutionary leadership of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA).

"The victory scored by the people of Angola over the regular South African troops, mercenaries, fascists and reactionaries of the FNLA (Front for the Liberation of Angola) and UNITA (Union for the Total Independence of Angola) is also our victory," the head of SWAPO said.

Expressing militant solidarity with the MPLA, SWAPO President Sam Nujoma noted: "...the independence of Angola, obtained under the leadership of a truly revolutionary vanguard, will definitely have a bearing on the future of Namibia." SWAPO is

leading the liberation struggle against the illegal South African occupation of the territory.

"SWAPO has always recognized the MPLA as the authentic representative of the Angolan people," Nujoma said. "There have been long-standing military links between the two organizations. . .," he added.

ANGOLAN REGION

Namibia borders the southern Angolan region in which UNITA functioned. When UNITA joined forces with the invading South African army in an attempt to defeat the MPLA, UNITA leaders criticized SWAPO for continuing its armed struggle against the fascist White settler regime. "The FNLA and UNITA served as instruments of South Africa and the CIA in all their plans against the Angolan people and the Namibian fighters," Nujoma noted.

FNLA-UNITA collusion with South Africa began long before Angola's formal independence from Portugal last November, the SWAPO leader said. "Already in January 1975, we began to notice an increasing movement of South African troops together with



SAM NUJOMA, president of militant Namibian SWAPO organization.

numerous former colonialists, mercenaries and Angolan reactionaries of the FNLA and UNITA, whose purpose was to infiltrate across the border and attack the revolutionary forces of Angola." SWAPO, Nujoma said, concluded as a result that it had to materially aid the MPLA and "inflict damage on the southern African racist troops by stepping up guerrilla actions in Namibia. . . (We are) a progressive, revolutionary movement and will in no way associate with or support reactionary forces or collaborate with the enemies of the Angolan people."

SWAPO made equally clear its view of Cuban military aid to the MPLA. "I would like to take this opportunity," Nujoma said, "to express, on behalf of the central committee of SWAPO, our sincere gratitude to comrade Fidel Castro, the Communist Party and government of the heroic people

CONTINUED ON PAGE 24

WORLD SCOPE



Cambodia

Cambodian Prince Norodom Sihanouk last week resigned his job as head of state and officially retired from politics. In a nationwide radio address, Prince Sihanouk, 53, said that he had decided in principle six years ago—following his overthrow by the U.S.-backed Marshal Lon Nol—that he would permanently retire from the Cambodian political scene once the coup had been reversed and a new revolutionary era, under the leadership of the Khmer Rouge forces, began.

Guyana

The chairperson of the Guyana Women's Revolutionary Socialist Movement (WRSM) recently declared that "the struggle for women's liberation in a developing country must be tied up with the struggle of the people as a whole, for it is part of a country's liberation. . . ." Ms. Viola Burnham made the statement at a meeting of the Guyana National Service Trainees, Hsin-hua news agency reports. Ms. Burnham told the participants in the 12-week training course, "The myth of women being only able to perform in certain areas should be exploded."

United Nations

The U.S. member of the United Nations Human Rights Commission recently attacked the handling of rights issues in the U.N. In a vicious speech before the American Jewish Congress, Leonard Garment charged that a coalition of Soviet bloc and Third World countries had twisted U.N. resolutions to legitimize its (coalition's) alleged repressive practices. Garment claimed that a "deadly pattern" amounting to a "systematic and immensely successful attack on Western values" was being conducted at international meetings.

North Korea

The Cambodian government recently issued a statement declaring its firm support of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea) in its efforts to defeat U.S. imperialism and aggression in the Republic of Korea (South Korea). The statement condemned the reactionary, U.S.-backed Park Chung Hee regime of South Korea for dividing the Korean people.



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ENTERTAINMENT

The Token Woman

The token woman gleams like a gold molar in a toothless mouth.

The token woman arrives like a milkbottle on the stoop coming full and departing emptied.

The token woman carries a bouquet of hothouse celery and a stenographer's pad: she will take the minutes, perk the coffee, smile like a plastic daisy and put out the black cat of her sensuous anger to howl on the fence all night.

A fertility god serves a season then is ritually dismembered yet the name, the function live on: so she finds the shopping list of exiled women in her coat pockets.

The token woman stands in the Square of the Immaculate Exception pigeons from a blue pedestal.

The token woman falls like a melon seed

on the cement: why has she not star shaped yellow flowers?

The token woman is placed like a scarecrow

in the longhaired corn: her muscles are wooden.

Why does she ride into battle on a clothes horse?

The token woman is a sandbag plugging

the levee: shall the river call her sister as the flood waters rage?

The token woman is a Black Chicana fluent in Chinese who has borne 1.2 babies

(not on the premises, no child care provided)

owns a Ph.D., will teach freshmen English for a decade and bleach your laundry with tears, silent as a china egg. Your department orders her from a taxidermist's catalog and she comes luxuriously stuffed with goosedown able to double as sleeping or punching bag.

Another woman can never join her,

help her, sister her, tickle her but only replace her to become her

unless we make common cause,

unless she grows out, one finger of a hand,

the entering wedge, the runner from the bed of rampant

Peppermint as it invades the neat clipped turf of the putting green.

Marge Piercy

"RIVER NIGER"

"COOLEY HIGH" STAR ON NEW FILM:
"NO PUNCHES PULLED"

(San Francisco, Calif.) - Cooley High star Glynn Turman was here recently for the opening of his new film, *The River Niger*, and in a *San Francisco Chronicle* interview he shared some of his personal, intimate feelings on the movie and the film industry itself.

The River Niger is based on the Tony Award-winning play of the same name written by Joseph Walker. In the film, Turman is cast with renowned Black stars James Earl Jones and Cicely Tyson. Turman said of *Niger*, "It's a play about battlefields, not necessarily the picking-up-of-spears-and-guns kind. It is about every man having the right to live his life to the fullest without all the 'shoulds' imposed on us."

Cast as a veteran who has returned home, Turman turns in a powerful performance that has already been praised by film critics across the country. Jones, who plays Turman's father, portrays a middle-aged poetry writing alcoholic. Ms. Tyson, nominated for an Academy Award for her performance in *Sounder*, is cast as Turman's mother who is dying of cancer. "Everyone will not be as comfortable with *The River Niger* (as compared to

GLYNN TURMAN and CICELEY TYSON, stars of the screen adaptation of Joseph Taylor's Tony-award winning play *The River Niger*.



Sounder)," Turman explained, "because it (*Niger*) deals 100 per cent with what is happening now with no punches pulled.

"Black people will be just as proud of it as they were about *Sounder*."

Expressing his innermost feelings about *Niger*, Turman noted, "The strongest statement it makes is of the love that holds

everything together and especially this family. . . To be part of that statement gives me fuel to go on for another 16 years."

Turman expressed his views on Black filmmaking, and "Blaxploitation" movies in particular. He said that he was not about to knock these films because "they made enough noise so that *Cooley High* and *The River Niger* could be made." However, he revealed that despite the box-office appeal of actors James Earl Jones and Cicely Tyson, a major studio could not be found to finance the movie.

"ICING ON THE CAKE"

"The icing on the cake for me," said Turman, was that a Black business firm raised nearly one million dollars to finance the production, which was shot in a record 19 days.

Turman has had considerable acting experience, starting out "at the top" being cast as the son of Sidney Poitier and Ruby Dee in the original cast of *Raisin In the Sun* before returning to finish classes at the High School of Performing Arts in New York City. Yet, he estimates that he "made \$1.98 in 16 years" of acting for stage, screen and television.

This coming fall Turman will be featured in a CBS-TV special called "Minstrel Man." "It's touchy because it exposes as best it can — which I feel is very well — the problems of being a Black performer in the 1890s," Turman said. "It was a very hurting, a very painful thing."

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"Smith Will Lose In Zimbabwe"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

women will be killed because they are Whites, no farmers will be killed because they are Whites.

In Zimbabwe, it will be a people's struggle and it will be protracted. It will allow Zimbabweans to transform the present nationalist struggle into a struggle that implies profound changes in the society. This will allow the people of Zimbabwe a complete divorce from the system of capitalism. So we would like the struggle to be a long one in order to liberate the mentality of Zimbabweans.

Q: The British foreign secretary, Mr. Callaghan, has said that Mr. Smith must accept elections leading to majority rule within two years. Would that be an acceptable time scale?

MACHEL: I do not know if Britain is the administrative power which can fix time limits to Ian Smith. Nor do I know if the foreign secretary's proposals followed consultations with Ian Smith and Joshua Nkomo about a time scale. But my answer is this: Time is a two-edged word. Give time to the reactionary forces in Rhodesia and you give time to Ian Smith to be better prepared. And this would imply negotiations with Mozambique to reopen her border. Who would this help? Mr. Smith or the majority?

And what does Britain think of the third force, the guerrillas who are waging the armed struggle? It is the main force in Zimbabwe.

U.D.I.

When Ian Smith's regime declared UDI (unilateral declaration of independence from Britain in 1965), they did not need a transitional period. Here once again is this paternalistic attitude toward Blacks: that they need time to qualify. If Britain wants to make Rhodesia her responsibility, it should be eight months, at most 12, for transition, because time is very dangerous and there is a war situation in Rhodesia.

Q: Can you explain the timing of your decision to close Mozambique's border with Rhodesia on March 3 and apply United Nations sanction?

MACHEL: Essentially this move is to destroy Ian Smith's economy. We have closed the roads and railways which support Rhodesia's economy. But for those who are for freedom, Rhodesia's borders are not closed.

We did it at this precise moment because the freedom fighters and the people of Zimbabwe are organized to fight against the Smith regime, so the conditions are ripe for the application of sanctions. We do

admit there is an economic crisis in Mozambique, but we have applied sanctions nine months after independence after studying Mozambique's economy and because this action will now not divert attention from the Angolan struggle.

When we closed the border, we were well aware of the economic consequences. But for Mozambique it is a temporary setback, even if it lasts five years. What we imported from Rhodesia we can import from elsewhere. But Rhodesia cannot replace these routes. In the final analysis, they will suffer most.

Q: Since the Angolan war, Dr. Kissinger and others in the West have expressed fears that Cuban troops may fight in Rhodesia and South West Africa. Would you allow foreign troops to travel through Mozambique to fight in Rhodesia?

MYTH

MACHEL: These fears are essentially the myth that exists among the Whites that the Blacks are not capable. But who brought down Portuguese colonialism which was the representative of Western civilization in Africa? Was it the Cubans, the Russians, or any other foreigners? For 10 years we fought in Mozambique and we defeated Portuguese colonialism. We were able to transform the armed struggle into a revolution and we took power by force. We are leading our state in a revolutionary way and making profound changes in our society.

When I was a child and went to church, White priests used to say that God was White and that Blacks did not go to heaven when they died. So now they say that Blacks cannot beat the Whites without the help of other countries, without the active participation of Whites. They must not ignore our capacity. The Zimbabweans will defeat Ian Smith without Cuban participation.

"Free Zimbabwe" Rallying Cry

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

in a desperate position, not Mozambique," one Black African diplomat said. "There is no need to attack Rhodesia."

There is widespread speculation as to whether Mozambique will allow the Soviet Union or Cuba to use its (Mozambican) territory to launch an attack against the Smith government. President Machel said recently that Cuban assistance would not be necessary to defeat the imperialists in Zimbabwe. Answering questions on whether he would allow the Russians or



Mozambicans rally.

We would like Dr. Kissinger and the American government to worry first about getting rid of the illegal Smith regime. Then they would have the support of the whole world. But I believe they are trying to find a new zone of tension. We believe that Dr. Kissinger's main motive is to try to transfer the tension from the Middle East to southern Africa and, having established that tension here, to find an excuse for bases in the Indian Ocean.

Is it the task of the West to perpetuate crimes and wars of aggression? This is what they should answer. They must not ask about the Cubans and the Russians. They must not try to divert attention from what is happening in Rhodesia. This is a case of an illegal, minority, racist regime and the choice is between supporting those who oppress and those who want freedom.

TO BE CONTINUED

INSIDE LATIN AMERICA



In our continuing efforts to keep our readers informed of events that affect the lives of poor and oppressed people throughout the world, following, THE BLACK PANTHER introduces a new column, "Inside Latin America."

Venezuela

Angry over the newspaper publication of a communique from kidnappers of an American businessman, the Venezuelan government said last week that it would seize the national subsidiary of the Ohio-based Owens-Illinois Glass Company. A government statement said the action had been taken because the company "violated the (Venezuelan) national constitution" through publication in foreign newspapers of a communique from the Argimiro Gabaldon Revolutionary Command, the leftist guerrillas who kidnapped William K. Niehaus, the manager of Owens-Illinois, on February 27, from his Caracas home.

Puerto Rico

The National Council of Churches (NCC) Governing Board recently passed a resolution expressing its unanimous, firm position in support of self-determination for Puerto Rico, *Claridad* reports. The resolution, passed at a New York City meeting of the NCC — an organization representing major Protestant denominations in the U.S. — directs NCC National Secretary Claire Randall "to write a letter to the President of the United States expressing our continued concern and commitment to the right of self-determination of Puerto Rico."

Paraguay

An international human rights organization last week accused the U.S. State Department of covering up evidence of atrocities committed by the Paraguayan government of Gen. Alfredo Stroesner. Representatives of the International League for the Rights of Man, in a news conference at the United Nations, said that evidence of mass arrests, torture and threatened annihilation of the Indian population of Paraguay had been provided to the State Department. However, the League charged, the U.S. has continued to provide military and economic aid.

MARTIAL ARTS



State Of Mind

The state of the athlete's mind as he or she faces an upcoming event determines the degree of excess tension carried into the event. The athlete who is free from excess tension while awaiting the performance is typically self-confident and has what is commonly known as a "winning attitude." He sees himself in total control of the athletic situation confronting him.

To many athletes, confident performance is a matter of "psychological necessity." Fed by previous success and having completely rationalized any failures, the athlete is able to draw on those things that reinforce his abilities.

As an event approaches, the athlete commonly notices a feeling of weakness in his midsection ("butterflies in the stomach") and may become nauseated and vomit. His/her heart pounds and there may be pain in the lower back. The experienced athlete recognizes these sensations not as an inner weakness but as an inner surplus, indicating a preparedness for violent activity.

It has been proved that the person who expresses a feeling of euphoria before an event is often poorly prepared. Many athletes call it "Adrenalburger"—an adrenalin surge that boosts the stimulatory effect of the competitive/stress situation.

If emotional control is not utilized, critical moments in the fight — when emotional tension is highest — will result in the performer's loss of skill. His/her body systems must suddenly work against the individual's overly tense, antagonistic muscles, making stiff and clumsy movements.

Experience shows that an athlete who forces himself/herself to the limit can keep going as long as necessary. This means that ordinary effort will not tap or release the tremendous store of reserve power latent in the human body. Extraordinary effort, highly emotionalized conditions or a true determination to win at all costs will release this extra energy. Therefore, an athlete is actually as tired as he/she feels and, if determined to win, can keep on indefinitely to achieve the objective at hand.

DUNK SHOT REINSTATED IN COLLEGE AND HIGH SCHOOL BASKETBALL

(New York, N.Y.) — The National Basketball Rules Association voted last week to reinstate the "dunk" shot in college and high school basketball where it had been outlawed since 1967.

The "dunk" or "stuff" shot was banned in March, 1967, just two days after Kareem Abdul-Jabbar (then Lew Alcindor) had led the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) basketball team to the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) championship. Many teams felt disadvantaged by Jabbar's towering presence (then approximately 7 feet, 2 inches) and in turn viewed the dunk shot as an unfair shot since they could not match it.

CHAMPIONSHIPS

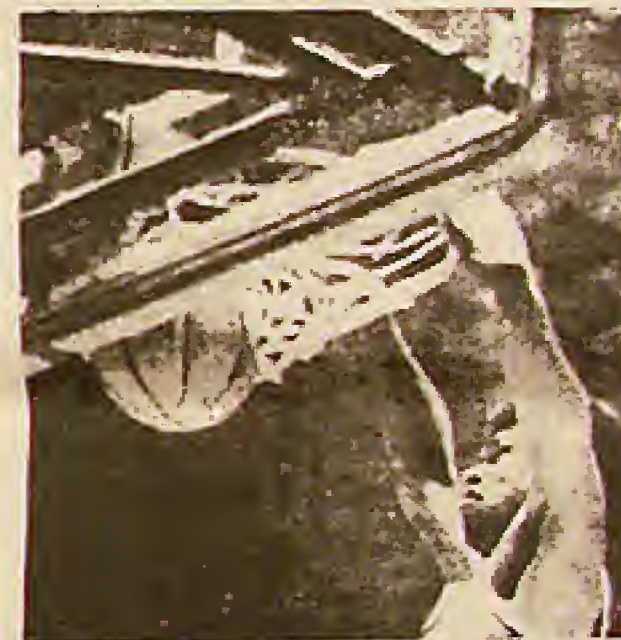
Despite the banning of the dunk shot, Abdul-Jabbar continued to dominate college basketball and led UCLA to two more consecutive NCAA championships in 1968 and 1969.

John Wooden, Jabbar's coach at UCLA and winner of 10 NCAA championships in 12 years before he retired last season, expressed regret over the reinstatement of the dunk shot, although admitting he was very upset nine years ago when it was outlawed.

"I hated to see them put the dunk out at the time," Wooden said, "but shortly after it was done, I told Lew (Kareem), 'It will do nothing but make you a better basketball player.' I just think it's better for the players without the dunk," Wooden continued. "They'll get to do it in the pros."

Wooden believes that "Houston (then with Elvin Hayes) had more to do with it (the outlawing of the dunk) than we did." But he added, "Most persons thought Alcindor was the reason for getting rid of the dunk, and he (Alcindor) did too."

With the advent of such players as New York Nets star Julius "Dr. J" Erving, the "Professor of the Dunk," it has become even more obvious than before that the dunk shot adds a "thrill dimension" to basketball. In fact, a "Dunk Shot" contest highlighted the half-time activities at this year's American Basketball Association (ABA) All-Star Game in Denver.



KAREEM ABDUL-JABBAR

Also, the shot is no longer limited to the taller players as evidenced by 6 feet, 4 inch Golden State Warrior guard Phil Smith who catapults through the air before slamming the ball through the hoop. Every time he does this, Golden State Warrior fans go into a frenzy. □

SPORTS



Chinese woman javelin thrower competing in recent National Games.

Congolese Track Team Competes In People's China

(Kwangchow, People's China) — A visiting track team from the People's Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville) recently held its first friendly meeting here with a local provincial team, competing in eight men's and women's events.

Hsinhua news agency reported that the District No. 5 team of Brazzaville won three first places in the men's 100 meter dash, high jump and 400 meter rally in its competition with the Kwantung Provincial Track and Field Team held in Kwangchow People's Stadium.

The track meet was attended by over 12,000 wildly enthusiastic spectators who greeted the visiting Congolese team with thunderous applause. "The contest was alive with the spirit of 'friendship first, competition second,' as athletes of both countries encouraged and learned from each other while giving full play to their style and technique," Hsinhua reported.

RESPECT

During their stay in China the Congolese athletes were treated with the utmost respect and accorded the best in hospitality. Upon their arrival from Peking, the group was entertained at a cordial reception hosted by the Kwantung Branch of the Chinese Athletic Association.

The African athletes visited the Flower Hill People's Commune and the site of the National Institute of the Peasant Movement which was run by Chairman Mao Tse-tung in 1929. A sight-seeing tour and a cultural show was also part of the athletes' itinerary.

Everywhere they went, Hsinhua wrote, "They (Congolese athletes) were warmly welcomed by the Chinese people who cherished the friendship of the Sino-Congolese people and sportsmen." □

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S.W.A.P.O.

Leader

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 20

of Cuba for the generous support and solidarity extended to the MPLA in its struggle against the South African, mercenary and all other reactionary forces. I say this because SWAPO views the victory of the MPLA over colonialism, imperialism and reaction as a victory for the people of Namibia."

EXTREMELY FAVORABLE

The situation in Namibia is extremely favorable to the liberation forces, Nujoma said. "The people of Namibia have responded firmly and consistently to our determination to continue the war of liberation. Our movement includes workers, students, peasants and even leaders of important religious groups, in short, nationalists of different social strata." This broad united front is being built in the face of South African attempts to fragment Namibia "into a number of tribal mini-states with a certain degree of autonomy, but controlled by the South African regime." In the place of apartheid-ruled bantustans, SWAPO "aspires to Namibia's complete independence as a single, sovereign and united state," he said.

While recognizing the value of United Nations support for Namibian independence in mobilizing world opinion, SWAPO considers it illusory to expect a just solution from that source. "The U.N. is still under the influence of the imperialists," Nujoma said, citing the U.S., British and French Security Council vetoes last summer of sanctions against South Africa. □

"Potential Is What Angola Is All About"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 19

and providing health and welfare services to six million people, all of whom have been affected by the 15-year struggle for independence and most of whom cannot read or write.

Invading troops have left Angola, but war damage remains. Most of Angola's bridges are rubble, and it will take a lot of time to rebuild them. Meanwhile, communication between different parts of the country is imperfect.

For the most part, the Angolan railroad system is not functioning, again because railroad bridges have been destroyed. Some service has been restored to the Benguela railway, which cuts across the center of Angola, linking it with Zaire and Zambia. All of the service is within Angola.

The copper rich countries of Zaire and Zambia will not be able to ship their copper through Angolan Atlantic ports, until extensive bridge building takes place.

"This will take us awhile. We know that this is highly harmful for the economies of Zaire and Zambia. But, these are war effects, especially the effects of the negative stand taken by the Mobutu government in the face of the struggle of the Angolan people," said the commandante.

Zaire was the main conduit for . . . American military assistance to FNLA and UNITA, two organizations which talked of Angolan liberation while on the CIA payroll. Zaire's army invaded Angola along with South African troops.

Dibala angrily denied that Cuba was attempting to colonize Angola.

"It is not possible at this stage of history for Cuba to carry out any type of colonization to any territory. Cuba is a country that is still considered underdeveloped and therefore does not have the financial and industrial potential

necessary to create a neocolony in Angola," Dibala noted.

The commandante labeled the colonization stories as "deceitful propaganda" and part of an overall anti-communist propaganda barrage. . .

Dibala discounted FNLA and UNITA claims that they will carry on guerrilla warfare against MPLA. He said that Zaire would not continue to support the two groups. A day after this statement, Zaire and Angola normalized relations. FNLA and UNITA were ordered out of the country.

MPLA said that there was evidence that FNLA and UNITA

UNITA.

"Innis is wasting his time. We believe that he could dedicate all this effort and his time in other tasks and other aspects which would be much more useful for the Black North American community."

"We are not afraid of a mercenary army who does not even know why they struggle. They only struggle for money and they have no combat morale," the commandante stated.

Life in Luanda and in other cities is comparatively normal, the MPLA delegation explained. MPLA was originally an urban



Members of an Angolan "Organization for Self-Defense." Speaking to Black journalists in Cuba, MPLA Commander Dibala pointed out, "Every Angolan is at present a soldier, and this comprises both men and women."

forces operated extermination camps just before retreating into Zaire.

"We were able to see in Bie, a large prison camp where the members and the sympathizers of MPLA went to. When the enemy felt that they could no longer defend the city of Bie, they simply decided to eliminate them and bury them in a common burial ground," Dibala said.

Dibala took a slap at Roy Innis (executive director of the Congress of Racial Equality) and his attempts to recruit mercenaries to fight along with FNLA and

movement and it has achieved a fairly high degree of organization among urbanized industrial workers. Outside Luanda, there is a different story. There, MPLA is plagued by the disorganization which comes from the disadvantage bred in by 500 years of Portuguese colonialism, plus the destructiveness of war.

CONFIDENT

They were confident that MPLA would successfully organize regional elections within a short time, and that necessary governmental structures will emerge.

Meanwhile, Angola continues to build its army. Everyone up to 35 years old is required to serve in the army. People 35 to 45 are encouraged to join their local militia. "It's a form of recycling," says Dibala.

"Every Angolan is at present a soldier, and this comprises both men and women."

An independent Angola in which each citizen is armed and prepared to defend their country's integrity, seems to be one vehicle used by MPLA in its determination to bring socialism to the west coast of southern Africa. They expect to succeed. They are asking Black Americans to help their expectations along. □

U.N. Sanctions Tighten On Rhodesia

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 19

Black Rhodesians would most likely be the puppet tribal chiefs who are supported by the White settler regime and who are traditionally very conservative.

In an interview with the London *Daily Telegraph*, Smith attacked Black freedom fighters in Rhodesia, calling them "gunmen," and in the same breath praised the "Uncle Tom" tribal chiefs. Smith claimed that an important announcement concerning political changes in Rhodesia would come "within two weeks or so."

As reported in a recent *New*

York Times article, the Smith regime, which remains staunchly opposed to majority (Black) rule, seems to be placing its hopes in maintaining power by tightening its control of the tribal chiefs. They have historically opposed the armed struggle for liberation of Rhodesia.

Confrontations between freedom fighters and government forces continued last week. Radio Mozambique reported that three Rhodesian helicopters had been shot down by liberation forces on the border between Rhodesia and Mozambique. □

Seattle Family Loses Suit

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

2,100 signatures from Seattle's Black community demanding that Earlywine be prosecuted.

Six months after Earlywine was cleared for Brother Hebert's murder, he (Earlywine) shot and killed a White man also in the back of the head. Earlywine was promoted to detective after he was cleared of this second murder.

A key point disputing Earlywine's story was made during last week's testimony by former King County Medical Examiner Dr. Vincent Matthews. Dr. Matthews showed that the angle from which the fatal bullet entered Joe's head could not have been fired while he was turning around, as Earlywine claims.

It was evident in court that Earlywine had rehearsed his statements although they were still full of contradictions. He displayed his insanity and killer mentality when Jack Richie, attorney for the Hebert family, asked Earlywine to show the jury how he drew his gun the night of he murdered Joe. In a disgustingly sick gesture, Earlywine stood up, emptied his service revolver and pointed it at the Hebert family who was seated in court. The action caused Joe's mother to scream and break down in tears. Distraught, she had to be taken from the courtroom. □

Letters to the Editor

GREETINGS FROM SEVENA ENTERPRISES IN STATEVILLE
Dear Editor:

All of us in Sevena Enterprises hope that this letter finds you and all the Comrade Brothers and Sisters there in the best of health and spirits.

Brother Robert Pryor told me of your interest in Sevena. He had begun preparation of a packet of material and information on Sevena to send to you, but he's been unable to complete this task because he was placed in the segregation unit by the kamp keepers.

Unfortunately, I don't have all the material that Bro. Pryor was going to send, and since I've only recently started working with Sevena, my knowledge of its history and struggles with the administration is limited.

Sevena is the only organization of its kind to be incorporated by the State of Illinois. But despite this fact, the Stateville administration refuses to recognize Sevena as a legitimate and responsible organization, and refuses to allow Sevena to operate behind these walls.

In essence, Sevena is dedicated to the proposition that men and women in prison have the right to be involved in all aspects of their own corrections, and further, that that involvement be transmitted to their respective communities.

Sevena is concerned with formulating, initiating and implementing programs supportive of positive and progressive change throughout the so-called criminal justice system, and with formulating and supporting the parolee and ex-offender.

Sevena is also concerned with mobilizing awareness of and promoting resolution of the problems and contradictions within the so-called criminal justice system.

Most of our energies at present are aimed at forcing the administration here at Stateville to allow Sevena to operate freely. The thinking of the keeper runs that prisoners can't be allowed to express independent thought or free choice in their actions. To allow us to make our own decisions would put us on a level with the keepers, and this they can't permit. The smooth operation of the system demands that guards be permitted to think of themselves as better than prisoners, and prisoners must be forced to continue to think of themselves as powerless against the system.

What's happening in Illinois, in Stateville, is happening all over the country in jails and prisons — and also in so-called "free" society. Repression. Isolation of people from each other, and the use of technology and behavioral science to stifle the revolutionary spirit of the people and to increase feelings of alienation and impotence.

Sevena intends to help reverse this repressive activity, to stop the rulers from oppressing the people and to take power out of their hands.

We hope that lines of communication can remain open between us. We hope to hear from you and to answer any and all questions you may have regarding Sevena and/or the conditions here in Stateville.

In Unity and Struggle
James (Yaki) Sayles
Joliet, Illinois

FARMWORKERS SEND THANKS

Dear Friends,

As we say thanks for your last contribution, we thought you'd like to know what's happening.

Refunds for the ALRB — our two months of intensive effort paid off. Not only were the pro-grower anti-union bills killed, but the bill the UFW supported (funds with no amendments) passed the Assembly and now goes to the Senate. We'll know by next week whether we've won this legislative battle.

Meanwhile the boycott of Sunmaid and Sunsweet products continues. It is going well with reports that over 1000 stores across the country are "clean".

Back in the fields, on ranches where the UFW won, farmworkers are busy learning how to negotiate, how to process grievances, how to enforce contracts, how to go about the business of building a strong union. And in Coachella a new health clinic has been opened to serve the farmworkers and their families.

The struggle goes on, but with your kind of monthly support we know we're going to win.

Si Se Puede!

Mike Egan, Co-Coordinator
East Bay Boycott

BOYCOTT SUNMAID AND SUNSWEET!

RAISE CIRCULATION

Dear Editor,

It is absolutely necessary that we expand the circulation of our newspaper in order to raise the consciousness and organize oppressed people. THE BLACK PANTHER is vital because its news articles negate and dispel the racist and reactionary propaganda emitted by the imperialist press.

Realizing the Party's need to secure a truck or van, I have enclosed a sum of money for your use in this area. Because I am not in Oakland at this moment, I want to contribute to the Party as much as possible. It is my duty. It is my obligation.

I'm delighted that the Oakland Community School Radiothon was successful. Perhaps I will be a part of that activity someday.

I celebrate your existence, life and development. I smile each time I think of you, the staff of THE BLACK PANTHER, the Party, and your productive work.

All Power To The People,

Frank H. Elam
Box #158 — Leonard Hall
American University
Washington, D.C. 20066

Tyrone Guyton

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

able and secure and not fear that an arbitrary dope dealer passing himself off as a police officer is going to slay them.

"We have to concentrate our efforts on Tyrone Guyton and 'Justice for Tyrone Guyton.' If we do that, we can force even the devil to change his heart. That's exactly what Evelle Younger is. His heart won't be changed but his actions will," Elaine declared.

"I have a special reason for thanking you for allowing me to be here today," Assemblyman Ken Meade told the demonstrators. "For a long time I've felt like I was part of a government that was not only unresponsive to the needs of the people but was increasingly doing a lot of harm to the people. There can be no more tragic demonstration of that harm than the execution of Tyrone Guyton.

"The only real power that exists in this country to extract justice for all human beings is the power of the people."

Pledging his personal support as well as expressing the full support of popular Black Assemblyman John Miller, Rev. Frank Pinkard eloquently commented:

"We've known for a long time that the police in the Black community are not there to protect us, but to contain and control us and to see to it that other people are protected from us. They know that we have good reasons to rise up against the kind of oppression they have placed on us down through the years.

"Remember, you cannot ask for power," Rev. Pinkard told the rallyers. "The only way you're going to get power is to take power and the only way you're going to take power is to solidify yourself, unify yourself." □

Oakland Woman

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

detention center. The next day Ms. Hayes finally located Mandingo and Gloria in a foster home in East Oakland.

As a result of the verbal and physical abuse she suffered, Ms. Hayes intends to file suit against both Merritt-Kirby and the Oakland Police Department. In an interview at the offices of THE BLACK PANTHER she declared, "This could happen to all of us.

"Black people should put their money into places where they will get something out of it," she said, "where they are respected." □



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Study Shows Calif. Prisons Unsafe — For Guards And Inmates

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

duce in a person so confined — regardless of their personality characteristics or personal history prior to such confinement — a tendency to extreme, irrational and even unpremeditated acts of violence against those with whom they come in contact?"

ZIMBARDO: "Yes. I have formed such an opinion."

GARRY: "And what is the opinion, Dr. Zimbardo?"

ZIMBARDO: "In my opinion, based on the information that I have gathered and presented here in part, I believe that the conditions in the Adjustment Center on August 21, 1971, could produce in any person so confined — regardless of the personality background, the moral background, their prior history of violence — could produce in such people a tendency toward extreme, irrational, unplanned acts of violence, which we could call a random violence, against any person with whom they might come into contact."

GARRY: "Why?"

ZIMBARDO: "Well, that's a very big question."

"If I might take a minute to present a general position on the nature of the controls of human behavior, which is what we are talking about."

"Behavior of people is always a function, a product, a result of two general classes of events:

(1) The nature of the person, their personality, character structure; and (2) the force of the environment that they are behaving in, the pressures, situational forces."

BEHAVIOR

"Under normal circumstances when the environment is benign, not threatening, not dangerous, mild if you will, then what determines your behavior is very much a consequence of things like your personality, your char-



Guard views the aftermath of the bedlam created in San Quentin Adjustment Center by conspirators of George Jackson assassination plot.

acter structure, your moral training, your religious background, your cultural background. In fact the clinical psychologists and most psychologists study the behavior of normal people in normal circumstances and attempt to show that that behavior is influenced by personality and that you can predict the way people behave in those situations if you know something about their personality. And indeed there are individual differences in what any person is likely to do in those situations, depending on their background.

ENVIRONMENT

"However, when the environment becomes more and more extreme, more total, more stressful, more novel, more unusual, more threatening, then the behavior that results is less and less a consequence of the background or personality of the individual and is much more totally determined by the nature of the environment. What that means is that, in order to understand any

individual's behavior in an abnormal, extreme situation, knowing about their personality or their background or individual differences among people, does not enable you to predict how they will behave in an abnormal situation.

"The best way to predict or understand how such people will behave is in terms of the power of the situation, and so, when we talk about the set of circumstances which characterize confinement in the Adjustment Center, it's my belief that those circumstances are so extreme, so abnormal, create in the people so confined a psychological state of dehumanization, that any person so confined could be made to behave in ways that are totally antisocial, which include among other things violent behavior toward anyone — toward guards, toward prisoners, toward anyone they come in contact with — regardless of whether or not they have a history, a prior history of violence." □

Fred Hampton Murder Trial Stalled

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

by not only a flurry of plaintiffs' motions for a mistrial or a temporary adjournment, but also motions seeking contempt of court citations and sanctions against three FBI agents and their Justice Department attorneys.

CONTINUED BIAS

Moreover, action on the motions — they were all summarily denied or kept pending until the trial's conclusion — highlight Warden's observation of U.S. District Court Judge Sam Joseph Perry's continuing bias in favor of the 28 law enforcement defendants accused of conspiring to snuffing out the young lives of Illinois State Black Panther Party leaders Fred Hampton, 21, and Mark Clark, 20, in the early morning hours of December 4, 1969.

The incident which sparked this latest uproar; and hardened Perry's prejudice, was an inadvertent slip by FBI special agent Roy Mitchell. The result was the discovery that the federal government had illegally withheld over 90 per cent of the documents it had been ordered to turn over to the plaintiffs.



Led by noted civil rights lawyer James Montgomery, attorneys for the plaintiffs have built their case on the solid argument that the murders of Hampton and Clark were part and parcel of the FBI COINTELPRO plan to disrupt and destroy the Black Panther Party.

The attorneys say that former Cook County State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan and his elite 13-man force, who actually carried out the assault, were expendable "pawns" used by the zealous federal agents to fulfill their plot.

Court testimony has established beyond a doubt that Hanrahan's men were supplied with a sketched out map of the West Monroe apartment, with an "X" marking where Fred Hampton slept, prior to the raid. That map was drawn out by Judas police informer William O'Neal, one of eight provocateurs recruited by FBI agent Mitchell to infiltrate the Chicago B.P.P. Chapter.

Plaintiffs in the case are the Hampton-Clark families and seven former Black Panther Party members who survived the fusillade of at least 99 bullets fired into the apartment by the police. Four of the seven survivors were severely wounded and were later beaten by the police raiders. □

—Johnny Spain: "... a penetrating probe for truth

HUEY P. NEWTON - ERICKA HUGGINS

When HUEY P. NEWTON, co-founder and ideologist of the Black Panther Party, disappeared in August, 1974, he left behind his INSIGHTS which embody, as Ericka Huggins has said, "a sensitivity and a humanity that make the man, in his absence, a friend to all people." ERICKA HUGGINS' POEMS are the telling introspective record of her own life during the years since her husband, Jon Huggins, was assassinated in Los Angeles in 1969, since then she has also co-edited the Black Panther newspaper and is director of the Intercommunal Youth Institute, a model elementary school in Oakland.

INTRODUCTION BY ZENTATSU BAKER-ROSHI of the San Francisco Zen Center

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